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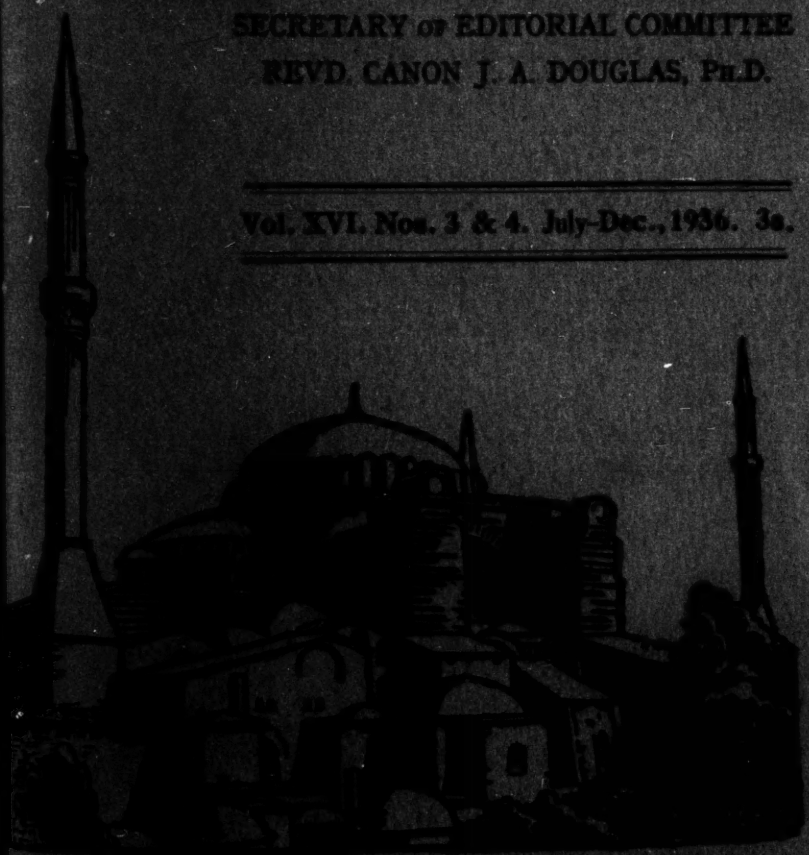

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CONTENTS.

THE PATRIARCH AND HOLY SYNOD OF ANTIOCH ... ... *Frontispiece*

THE METROPOLITAN ANTONY OF KIEV, R.I.P. By E. N. C. SERGEANT 65

A LETTER OF THE LATE PATRIARCH MELETIOS ON THE PAPACY 73

HYMNS FROM THE HOLY QURBANA ORDER OF THE ORTHODOX SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR. By HUBERT RILEY 78

A CONSPECTUS OF HISTORIC EASTERN CHRISTIANITY. By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D. 81

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE ... 85 and 128

THE PROPOSED ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL FOR CAIRO ... ... *Illustration*

A RUMANIAN JOURNEY. By FR. VICTOR SHEARBURN, C.R. 91

A. & E.C.A. NOTES 98

THE ASSYRIAN PROBLEM. By CANON WIGRAM 102

GREECE REVISITED. By PHILIP USHER ... 105

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH DURING THE SYNODAL PERIOD OF HER HISTORY. By PROFESSOR A. KARTASHOV 112

OUR BOOKSHELF 125

PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

Θεολογία. Constantinople.
Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος. Athens.
Orientalia Christiana. Rome.
Ἕλληνισμός. Alexandria.
Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος. Alexandria.
Sion Zeitschrift. Jerusalem.
Ἐκκλ. Ἀλήθεια 179, Athens.
Tserkovnie Vedomosti. Karlovtsi.
Glasnik. Serbia.
Ὁ Ἐκκλ. Ἀγγελιαφόρος. Odos Mavilaou 6, Athens.
Novadan Slovo. Bulgaria.
Biserica Ortodoxa Romana. Bucarest.
Misionarul. Bucarest.
The Living Church. Milwaukee, U.S.A.
The Islamic Review. Woking.
L'Europa Orientale. Rome.
The Antidote. New York.
The Harvard Theological Review. Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Irenikon. Belgium.
Ἐκκλησία. Athens.
Apostolos Barnabas. Cyprus.
Vyestnik. Belgrad.
Sion (Armenian). Palestine.

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THE GREEK-ORTHODOX. THE PATRIARCH AND HOLY SYNOD OF ANTIOCH.

1. The Patriarch Alexandros
2. The Metropolitan Basileios of Amadia
3. The Metropolitan Meletios
4. The Metropolitan Zachawas of Bosphoi
5. The Metropolitan Raphael of Bosra
6. The Metropolitan Triphon of Laodikeia
7. The Metropolitan Ignatios of Epiphaneia
8. The Metropolitan Theodosios of Tyre and Sidon
9. The Metropolitan Nephon of Heliopolis
10. The Metropolitan Epiphanios of Emesa

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The Christian East

THE METROPOLITAN ANTONY OF KIEV. R.I.P.

(From "Glasnik," the official organ of the Sub-Patriarchate, trans. by E. N. C. Sergeant.)

QUIETLY and devoutly, like a candle burnt out at last, there came to an end on the 20th of August (28th of July) of this year at half-past nine in the evening the illustrious life of the blessed Russian Metropolitan Antony.

In the brotherly arms of His Beatitude, our Patriarch Varnava, that never-failing friend of the Russians, there went into the nearer presence of God a spiritual colossus and a giant of the Russian people, than whom, it may well be, we shall never behold a greater. Boundless was the grief and indescribable the sorrow of our Patriarch and of those about the dying Metropolitan, all the representatives of the Serbian Church and of the Russian Church in Sremski Karlovtsi. Bitter was the grief, during this night of sorrow, of every Russian soul at the realization that in the Metropolitan Antony there had passed away a tender spiritual father, a faithful chief pastor and an outstanding leader of the Russian people.

* * * * * * *

In the village of Vatagin, in the Krestetski district of the government of Novgorod, was born this giant of the Russian people and of the Orthodox Church; here there first saw the light the little Alexis, the future Metropolitan Antony, whose body we have just given to the earth of our beloved Serbia, in which the great Metropolitan, after the Russian catastrophe, found his second homeland.

The day of his birth fell on the 17th of March, 1863, when all Orthodox nations keep the feast of St. Alexis, the Man of God. The name of this saint was given to the new born member of the Khrapovitski family, and in very fact this child too, by his life and work, became a Man of God. When the little Alexis was seven years old, his parents left Vatagin and settled in the historic Russian city of Novgorod, near the famous Cathedral of St. Sophia, built in the tenth century by Yaroslav the Wise.

The sanctuaries of Novgorod exercised a powerful influence on the young Alexis, and he eagerly visited the churches and monasteries of the town. And there began to appear in him a burning desire to consecrate himself to the service of Christ's Church, a determination from which he afterwards never wavered. The boy himself ardently wished to enter a seminary, but his parents sent him to a school in Petrograd where he distinguished himself by winning a gold medal. On leaving school he entered the Petrograd Theological Academy, being first student out of a hundred and twenty at the entrance examination. Wholeheartedly devoted to learning, the young student rapidly attracted the attention of the rector, the Archpriest Yanishev, and all the professors of the Academy. Among his colleagues were many who afterwards became life-long friends of his. They all thought only about the good of the Church and theological learning. Even then the student Khrapovitski was concerning himself with the restoration of the Russian Patriarchate. It is well known that the Russian Church from the time of Peter the Great was so shackled that the headship of the Church was concentrated in the person of the emperor. Its central administration consisted of the "Holy Governing Synod" presided over by an Oberprocurator. But the realization of his ideal, the return to the system of the old Russian Patriarchate, Antony only began to bring about when Russia was already under the threat of sinister, barbarian Bolshevism. While he was a student in the Theological Academy Alexis wrote a thesis on the problem of Freewill, for which he afterwards received the degree of Master of Theology. The theological brilliance of this work at once placed Antony in the front rank of Orthodox theologians and was the basis of his future work.

Five days after the termination of his studies in the Petrograd Theological Academy the young Alexis became a monk. He received the tonsure in the Church of the Academy on the 18th of May, 1885. Already on the 12th of June of the same year Antony was ordained deacon and on the 30th of September he was ordained priest. His first post was in the Academy itself. He was appointed assistant to the Inspector of the Academy. Here there was very quickly formed a brilliant club of learned monks devoted to the development of theological thought.

In the autumn of this year the priest-monk Antony was promoted to the seminary at Kholm, but did not stay there long. As a result of his brilliant thesis he was appointed to the staff of the Petrograd Theological Academy, where he lectured on the Old Testament. At this time he published several studies on biblical science and a commentary on the Book of Micah. The young professor eagerly preached the word, visited prisons and hospitals, lectured and contributed with unwearying enthusiasm to different periodicals.

In 1889 the priest-monk Antony became archimandrite and rector of the Petrograd Theological Academy and afterwards, at the age of 28, was appointed rector of the Moscow Academy, situated in the Monastery of the Trinity, sixty miles from Moscow.

The Moscow Academy, in which were at that time renowned professors such as the famous philosopher Kudryavtsev, the ecclesiastical historian Golubinski and the illustrious historian Klyutchevski, received the young rector very cordially, as did the Metropolitan of Moscow, Leontius. Here the young archimandrite, 28 years old, speedily introduced the very newest methods of instruction, founded on his fatherly love and care for his pupils. The activity of the archimandrite Antony introduced something new into his instruction and training. His relationship with his students was founded on his love for them, on their free submission, on their general eagerness for achievement and on the conviction of their desire for knowledge. This spirit of Christian love increased greatly the ecclesiastical fervour of the Academy. The students thronged the apartments of the rector, to drink tea with him and discuss the latest theological works, just published, the general life of the nation and the varied problems of the day. Under the influence of the Father Rector, many of them afterwards followed in the footsteps of their teacher and entered the religious life. Thus, the archimandrite Antony gradually created a body of learned Russian monks, which gave so many enlightened hierarchs to the service of the Orthodox Church. However, in spite of his teaching activity, the archimandrite Antony did not neglect his scientific work. He wrote the following : *The Moral Significance of the Dogma of the Holy Trinity*, *The Moral Significance of the Dogma of the Holy Spirit*, and *The Moral Significance of the Dogma of the Church*. As the crown of this cycle of dogmatic works there appeared in 1917, at the Valam monastery, *The Dogma of Redemption*. In the Moscow Academy the archimandrite Antony lectured on pastoral theology and founded the journal : *The Theological Messenger*.

During his work at the Moscow Academy the archimandrite Antony took up the cudgels on behalf of the Church against the learned Count Leo Tolstoy. His remarks on this occasion were so much to the point that even Tolstoy said that "only the archimandrite Antony really understood him."

Caring for all his students, the archimandrite Antony specially liked to have Slav and Greek students, as representatives of the Eastern Churches, in which there burnt the flame of true Orthodoxy.

It is to be observed that this method of working used by the archimandrite Antony soon met with strong opposition on the part of those adhering to the old formal system. In particular the new Metropolitan of Moscow, Sergius (Lapidevski), did not approve of the activity of the energetic rector. So the Metropolitan brought

about the transference of the archimandrite Antony to the Theological Academy at Kazan. And in the year 1897 the archimandrite Antony was consecrated bishop and appointed rector of Kazan Academy until 1900, when he received the diocese of Uphy. During his time as rector in Kazan he set up in the Academy special missionary courses, which afterwards gave many keen men to the Church in Eastern Russia, including the present Bishop of Kamchatka.

As a bishop Antony used all his energy to spread Christian knowledge among the people. With particular care he reformed the seminaries and in two years he succeeded in setting up in the diocese of Uphy a number of new parishes.

In 1902 he was translated to the diocese of Volhynia, where he spent twelve years. The diocese had a population of two and a half million. The clergy were out of touch with the people. In fact between the clergy and the people there were no spiritual and moral links. By means of special circular letters and his own example, the bishop succeeded in restoring contact between the pastors and the flock. He assisted the clergy in their poverty and other difficulties. In particular the bishop set about renewing church life in Zhitomir, especially in the Pochaev monastery, on the very frontier over against what was then Austria. To the monastery there came crowds of pilgrims, not only from all over Russia, but also from Austrian Galicia. In Pochaev the bishop organized a " printing brotherhood," at the head of which was the archimandrite (now the archbishop) Vitaly. The brotherhood published many books and periodicals for the people. In the monastery Bishop Antony built a large church. In the town of Ovruch he renovated a large ancient church. Throughout the diocese he built many churches and founded a number of parishes.

At the time of the first Russian revolution of 1905–6 the bishop came forward as a champion of faith and fatherland against the revolutionaries. And to this day there has lasted the fame of his sermon of February 20th, 1905, in St. Isaac's Cathedral in Petrograd, where he was at that time as a member of the Holy Synod. The bishop told the people frankly that they would perish if they chose the path of revolution. Against the bishop there arose in the Press at the time the well-known writer Merezhkovsky, declaring that, in the event of revolution, Russia would not perish. Now, let us notice, it is seen who spoke the truth. In the see of Volhynia the bishop set about introducing greater veneration for saints such as: Cyril and Methodius, Our Lady of Pochaev, Makary and Job.

In 1912 Antony was made an archbishop, and in 1914 translated to Kharkov, where during the World War he was tireless in rousing the people to fight for faith, Tsar and fatherland. In Kharkov, the archbishop received as a beloved guest Bishop Varnava, our present

Patriarch, who lectured there about Serbia and her national aims after the war. In Kharkov Archbishop Antony wrote the following works: about Renan, about the Patriarch Nikon, *A Harmony of the Gospel Narratives of the Resurrection, Concerning Life beyond the Grave and Eternal Punishment*, etc.

When the revolution of 1917 broke out, the provisional government sent the archbishop to the Valam monastery. But when the revolutionary forces permitted the Kharkov cathedral chapter to elect a new chief pastor, the vote was unanimous in favour of Archbishop Antony. In August of the same year the Archbishop was present at the All-Russian Ecclesiastical Council, where he brought forward a proposal to restore the Patriarchate. The Council accepted the proposal and elected three candidates, out of whom the greatest number of votes was received by Archbishop Antony. After this lots were drawn and as Patriarch the lot fell on Tikhon. Archbishop Antony was appointed Metropolitan and took over the see of Kiev. But there he remained only six months.

In this short time the Metropolitan Antony succeeded in organizing the church life firmly in accordance with that of the All-Russian Church; he organized in the Pecherski monastery courses of pastoral theology and celebrated the liturgy in all the churches of Kiev. When the "Petlyvrovtsi" captured the city, they immediately seized the Metropolitan Antony and imprisoned him in a Uniate monastery in Butchatch, in Galicia, where he spent eight months. There he wrote *A Dostoevsky Dictionary, An Orthodox Catechism* and *Confession*. The Allied Powers brought about his release and he returned on October 7th, 1918, to Kiev, which he left on a diplomatic mission to the south of Russia. And since the Bolshevists shortly afterwards took Kiev, he was obliged to remain in the south.

Then began a new period in the life of the Metropolitan Antony—a period of gathering together and unifying the remains of the Russian Church and of preserving the purity of Russian Orthodoxy. This period has lasted up till now, nearly eighteen years. There was created a "Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration in the South of Russia" in Novocherkassk. But the volunteer army retreated and the Metropolitan went with them to Ekaterinodar and then to Novorossisk. There he was tricked by a lie. He was told that he was desired on a Greek ship in order to celebrate a Te Deum for the delivery of Constantinople from the Turks. When the Metropolitan stepped on board, the boat left immediately for Athens. There he was warmly welcomed by the local Metropolitan Meletius. Afterwards he spent some time on the Holy Mountain of Athos, which he left in order to return to the Crimea. After the evacuation of the Crimea the Metropolitan went to Constantinople, and in 1920, at the invitation of the late Patriarch Dimitri, to Yugo-Slavia, where he lived until his death as the guest of His Beatitude the Patriarch Varnava.

As long as his health permitted, the Metropolitan Antony visited the different countries, in which dwell Russian emigrants: the Holy Land, Asia Minor, France, England, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece and the numerous colonies of Russian emigrants in Yugo-Slavia. Everywhere he organized the life of the Church and preached the Word of God. In Yugo-Slavia he instituted the Council of Hierarchs and the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. Many times the Metropolitan Antony sent letters to the heads of the Churches and States of the world to call the attention of the civilized nations to the dreadful conditions of life in Soviet Russia.

By the extraordinary profoundity of his spiritual life and his rare affection, the wonderful man of prayer and servant of the Truth of God, the stirring preacher and learned theologian, Antony, was known throughout the whole Orthodox world and among Catholics, Protestants and Anglicans. His learned productions cannot even be enumerated in this short obituary notice. There are several hundred of them. The Metropolitan Antony and his work for God is of historic importance in the life of the Orthodox Church.

Such is a brief account of the life of the saintly Metropolitan Antony. It is a life full of activity in the cause of ecclesiastical learning and of burning love for his flock and for the down-trodden Russian people.

* * * * * * *

On the 13th of August (31st of July) of this year there took place in the Cathedral of Belgrad the funeral service of the Metropolitan Antony. His Beatitude the Serbian Patriarch Varnava was the celebrant at the Liturgy with our Bishops Vikenty, Sava and Simeon, the Russian Metropolitan Anastasy and the Bishops Hermogen and Mitrophan, and a large number of Russian and Serbian priests. At the Liturgy there were present: a representative of His Majesty the King and a deputy of the Minister of Public Instruction. All the Russian Church choirs took part in the service.

After the Liturgy His Beatitude the Serbian Patriarch Varnava delivered the following impressive funeral oration:

Before us lie the earthly remains of the great Hierarch of the Russian Church, who but a short time ago conversed with us, exhorted us and instructed us with profound theological learning.

Before us lie the mortal remains of the great spiritual leader of the Russian Orthodox Church, who showed forth the path of salvation and of nearness to the truth of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Before us are the earthly remains of the man who with love and talent, given him from on high, all his life laboured in the service of God. His name is connected with the great period of development

and renown of the Russian Church and the great Russian people, and occupies one of the first places in the theological thought of the Orthodox Church. From his earliest years he consecrated his life to the Church of God, and spent it in the service of the Church and of God.

Those who did not know the Metropolitan Antony, now at rest with the blessed, remain in ignorance of his great significance for the Orthodox Church. Yes, we repeat once more that he, too, will be included in the roll of the great hierarchs, of the fathers of the Church of the first centuries of Christianity. His name is renowned not only in the Orthodox Church, but also throughout Christendom, as that of a man of high morality, of a scholar of profound learning and of a deeply religious hierarch. From early childhood he consecrated himself to God. With his broad Russian soul he penetrated deeply into the profound significance of the Orthodox Faith and Church and devoted himself with all his heart to their service. His home, from childhood, consisted of school and church. His spirituality continually deepened, his authority grew, the veneration accorded to him increased, and the national veneration of the Russian people found expression in 1917 in Moscow, when he was elected as first candidate for the Patriarchal Throne of mighty Russia. This was at the moment when Tsarist Russia was at the point of death ; it was the last time that the free will of the Russian people found expression.

It was the will of God that another should occupy the Patriarchal Throne, but to the Metropolitan Antony, now at rest with the blessed, Providence gave the task of gathering round him true sons of Russia scattered throughout the world. In this connexion the Metropolitan now at rest was not only a spiritual leader, but also a national leader, round whom was gathered all the healthy, religious and national Russian emigration. He longed to gather together all the Russians scattered throughout the world, and poured out on them all his faith and hope for the future.

But great as were his capabilities and his position, equally great was his humility. He never drew attention to himself, and steadfastly refused to allow people to sing his praises. Anyone who knew him well could never forget him. He was a brilliant preacher of the Word of God and a profound theologian. There was something about him which attracted thousands of people desirous of hearing his sermons and instructions. And when I myself was a student in Petrograd, I hurried to see him and listen to him. And there was indeed something to listen to and someone to see !

His death is a heavy blow not only to Russia, but to all Orthodoxy, particularly at the present difficult and evil time. In the great Metropolitan who has passed on, were profoundly and harmoniously united a profound and pure faith, extensive learning and openness

of character. In all likelihood we, his contemporaries, have not understood this great spirit; in all likelihood only the future will show the full significance of Antony Khrapovitski for the Church and learning.

From his earliest childhood the Metropolitan Antony had a profound affection for the Serbian Orthodox Church and its representative the Metropolitan Mihail, who, when exiled, went to Russia. The Metropolitan Antony, then only a young priest-monk, placed himself at the disposal of the Metropolitan Mihail, whose remains lie in this very church, to become his enthusiastic follower and take part in the struggle for truth and for the Holy Serbian Orthodox Church. Bearing himself before him with love and veneration, he lightened the bitterness of exile for the Serbian primate. It has been the will of Providence that the Metropolitan Antony should celebrate his jubilee and have his Requiem in the very church in which he celebrated, preached, had his Requiem and was buried—in the cathedral church of the Metropolitan Mihail.

The Metropolitan Antony was a Slavophil of the same type as Homyakov, Aksakov and the other great Russian Slavophil thinkers. In a short while there will be committed to the earth the mortal remains of this great theologian, thinker and Russian patriot, of this great Slav and guardian of the traditions of the Orthodox Church. And we, who must guard like a beacon those same traditions, as we stand round the mortal remains of this great Hierarch, the Metropolitan Antony, are under the obligation of praying for the salvation of great, imperial Orthodox Russia, in which was born, grew up and served the Orthodox Church this great Metropolitan. We must use all our efforts to bring about the restoration of Imperial Russia, for in her alone is our salvation, the salvation of the Slavs. This was well understood by the great Metropolitan, who lies here motionless before us, and towards this he always strove. This I know, as you all do. It is untrue that Soviet Russia thinks about us Slavs. And as long as I occupy my present position, I will not allow a single hair of the Russian Church to be harmed.

Let us pray with all our hearts to God for the soul of the Metropolitan Antony, now at rest among the blessed, with faith that God has received him into the place where abide Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and many a Russian hierarch and martyr for the Orthodox Faith, at the head of whom is the Tsar-Martyr—Nicholas II. May the Metropolitan Antony be in glory!

A LETTER OF THE LATE PATRIARCH MELETIOS ON THE PAPACY.

PREFATORY NOTE BY J. A. DOUGLAS.—*A copy of the subjoined letter was sent to me by the Patriarch Meletios at the time of its writing with the request that I would keep it and publish it later on. All things considered, I did not judge that any purpose would be served by its publication during the Patriarch's life. But apart from the pious duty of seeing that it is not left unpublished, it seems to me that it may have a certain value at the present. It was written towards the close of his short-lived and stormy, but very memorable occupancy of the Œcumenical Throne which lasted only from January, 1922, to November, 1923. It bears date 1st March, 1923, i.e. at the height of the crisis of the intense period which followed the catastrophe of the Greek Army at Afiun Karahissar in October, 1922, and which culminated in the Treaty of Lausanne and the surrender by the Allies of Constantinople to the triumphant Kemalists in November, 1923. During those twelve months the Patriarch Meletios himself was in continual danger of his life, and, indeed, on one occasion was within an ace of being kidnapped from the Phanar itself and being taken over the Marmora to be hanged at Ismidt. The Turkish armies at Chanak on the Dardanelles might have advanced at any moment on Constantinople to repeat the terrible holocaust of Smyrna in which they had butchered over 100,000 Greeks and Armenians in the preceding October. Only a few thousand British troops were between the 120,000 Greeks of Constantinople and that threatened horror. The French army of occupation could not be relied upon and was in fact being evacuated already. French national pride hated King Constantine for the mishandling of French officers during the War. French popular opinion had become violently pro-Turk on his restoration and the expulsion of Mr. Venizelos, whom—possibly erroneously—it regarded as a great Francophil. French diplomacy was ambitious of making the Levant a French sphere of influence and was working to get the British out of Constantinople and in support of the Kemaliste. As far back as 1921 M. Franclin-Bouillon had visited Angora and in return for expectations which were never realized had pledged France to back the demands of the Ghazi. French officers were with the Turkish army behind the wire at Chanak and Turkish* revitaillement *had been due to France. In short the objective of French policy was plainly the resuscitation of Turkey, and the scrapping of the Treaty of Sèvres which had brought the Kingdom of Greece to the shores of the Marmora and had made possible the liberation of Greek Asia Minor and of Constantinople itself. Moreover the very existence of the Œcumenical Patriarchate was threatened: for at Lausanne Ismet Pasha was announcing that as soon as the Turks re-entered Constantinople, the Greeks of Constantinople would be expelled and the*

Œcumenical Patriarchate sent packing with them. Lord Curzon, it was true, declared that he would permit no such injury to the historic centre of Eastern Christendom. In the end he had his way. Though the Christian name was extirpated from its homelands in Asia Minor, the Patriarchate and the Greeks remained in Constantinople. But as things were in March, 1923, the position was desperate. If France continued to back Mustapha Kemal the fate of the Greeks and of the Patriarchate seemed sealed. On the other hand, if only France would abandon its hostility to the Greeks, not only might the position be saved, but the vision of a Greek Asia Minor and of a Greek Constantinople would remain on the horizon. While the decisions at Lausanne were in the balance, representations were made to Mr. Polites from Paris that if the Œcumenical Patriarch would show a disposition to become Uniate, there would be a volte face. *The diplomacy of the Vatican which at Versailles and after had concentrated on preventing the reconsecration of St. Sophia as an Orthodox Church—it had claimed that since a "Catholic" built the Great Church and since after being a "Catholic" shrine for the greater part of its existence, it had been a "Catholic" church when it was desecrated to be a mosque, it ought to be handed over to the exiguous Uniates of the City—and which had not swerved from its secular policy of bringing Orthodoxy to surrender to the Papal Supremacy or of destroying it, would become the champion of the Greek Cause. It had much power at the moment in French governmental circles: but apart from that, France still piqued itself on the prerogative which Louis XIV had secured, of being the protector of Papalist interests in Turkey. A Uniate Œcumenical Patriarchate would depend upon France and the Greeks of Asia and of Constantinople would pass under its influence. As the proposition was put to Mr. Polites and was passed on to the Patriarch Meletios by him, it was much the same as was set before the Emperor, John Palaeologos and his Patriarch at the pseudo-Œcumenical Council of Ferrara-Florence in* 1438-9. *As then the alternatives were uniatization and the rousing of Christian Europe to save the Empire and the Queen-City from the Turk or faithfulness to Orthodoxy and abandonment to Moslem helotage, so in* 1923 *the prospectus before the Patriarch Meletios was uniatization and as its reward delivery from the menace of the Kemalists and the liberation of* Græcia irredenta, *the Redemption of St. Sophia and the realization of the dream of a modern* Magna Græcia Orthodoxa. *Gennadios Scholarios, the Œcumenical Patriarch in his day, had rejected with his flock the* Unio Haud Vera *which Pope Eugene thought that he had exacted at Florence and knowing what were the consequences had declared that he preferred the Sultan's turban to the Pope's tiara. Those who had succeeded him upon the Throne of St. Andrew and of St. Chrysostom had paid the price of that decision gladly. They had never looked back.*

From the realistic view-point the Patriarch Meletios may be judged

to have been mad to reject the proposition. As to whether Mr. Polites adjudged it to be worth acceptance, I have no information. All that he did was to pass it on. But the Patriarch Meletios did not falter. He was ready for the price of its rejection. When he wrote this letter he must have envisaged the consequences. His refusal to surrender the fundamental principles of Orthodoxy was the refusal of the last hope of saving the Patriarchate from disaster and possibly from extinction. For himself—and he was of those who are born for leadership and action—it meant seeming ruin and brought upon him years of inaction and seclusion.

His letter is an interesting historical document and an apologia *of Orthodoxy, well worth preservation, but it is also a very human document. And as such I publish it to the honour of my dear friend.*

To His Excellency M. N. Polites, Prime Minister of Greece, Our Well Beloved, Grace and Peace from God.

Dear Friend,

Your letter of December 17th-30th was belated in reaching my hands. I am belated therefore in reciprocating its warm wishes for the New Year.

The contents of your letter other than your good wishes have engaged my attention not only to the point of view from which the note emanating from some members of the Relief Committee presided over by Cardinal Dubois discusses the question of the Union of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, but also to that point of view in which after setting out in your letter its deliberations, your own wisdom concludes. The idea which serves as the basis of that memorandum concerning the great importance of the political consequences of Union is precisely that which brought the Emperor with his Court and the Patriarch with his metropolitans to Florence on the eve of the Fall of the Empire. Under the power of that idea a fictitious Union was established through a common Liturgy celebrated in Saint Sophia on 12th December, 1452, at the time when Mohammed II had already started from Adrianople for the capture of the Capital. But just as it is the case that the tragic position of the Greek Nation and Church were not strong enough to make the idea of union with Rome acceptable to them, so is the case, and in an even greater degree, to-day. I am firmly convinced that as at the time of the Capture the advocates of Union for political reasons increased the disaster through kindling religious passions, so now movement for Union with Rome would crown the national catastrophe, in result of the dissension which would again break out and before which that of the time of the Siege of Constantinople would pale. The phenomenon is not hard of explanation. The Greek Church, which even in the day of Basil the Great had

resented " the haughty brow " of the bishops of Rome, cannot pardon Rome the malicious satisfaction which she has always displayed at its misfortunes. The whole attitude of Rome towards the Greek Church breathes the fundamental conception that it is natural that the Greeks should suffer misfortune since they do not subject themselves to the religious Autocrat of Rome. The happenings in which the material life of the Greek Nation has been overwhelmed since 1918, afforded the Holy See an admirable opportunity of showing that the things done in the time of the Crusaders, of Florence, of the Capture, and of Cyril Lukar, with others like them, were the deeds of ages less enlightened than our own. But when there was a likelihood of the restoration of St. Sophia to the Greek Church, the Holy See opposed it and made it known that it preferred it to remain in the hands of the Turks. Of all the Christian world, Rome alone remained indifferent at the catastrophe which has befallen Asia and Thrace. More, according to the reports made to the Paris Press satisfaction was manifested at it in the circles of the Vatican. Further, as a consequence of that catastrophe a demand was made for the expulsion of the Œcumenical Throne from New Rome. The Bishop of Old Rome, however, would take no part in the general emotion or in the effort made for the Patriarchate. It would be a satisfaction indeed to me to find myself in the same friendly relations with the Bishop of Rome as I am with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but I would ask you to mark that the Bishop of Old Rome has not willed such an understanding with Eastern Christianity as alone would enable him to win a title to the goodwill of the laity and clergy of the Eastern Church. Not only, however, is there lacking the mutual atmosphere for the pursuit of ties with Rome, but the nature of the great difference between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism forbids them. With the Anglicans we can treat of Union in a spirit of equality and on the same fundamental principles of church polity. Union with Rome signifies subjection to a single Monarch to a degree which no Absolutism in all the centuries has ever pictured its Autocrat. Our French friends may have succeeded in ridding themselves of Absolutism in the state only to make terms with it in the Church, but to the nature of the Greek such an inconsistency is quite intolerable—or to express myself more clearly, the Greek at times has borne with political, but through the agelong existence of his nation has always rejected ecclesiastical absolute Monarchy. In the years of the Byzantine epoch, he cherished the monarchic principle in his political life as a precious inheritance from Rome for the sake of the unity of the Greek Nation itself and for the preservation of the national creation, (lit. mosaic) the Empire. But in that epoch it knew how to preserve in perfection in the ecclesiastical world the ancient democratic spirit of " cities " which in some places consti-

tuted " Communities "—in the Peloponnese and Aetolia in the days of Aratos, " Confederations "—with representatives, one from each " city " coming together to a " Synod." In Ecclesiastical Polity the " city " became the " Diocese," and the " Synod of the cities' representatives " was transformed into the " Synod of the Bishops." Further, since it was necessary that the particular Synods should be connected together, the Greater Synod, which is constituted from the many particular Synods, was fashioned. Thus we reach the highest unification of the whole Church on earth and the Œcumenical Synod sees the light. To apply ecclesiastical nomenclature to these units, the group of parishes makes up the Diocese ; the group of Dioceses makes up the Metropoly ; the group of Metropolies makes up the Patriarchate ; and the Patriarchates united together the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. The Pope can be to-day President of the Presidents of the Autokephalous Churches in the same way that the President of each particular Church is President of the Bishops around him. But, carried away by the imperial traditions of Rome, the Bishop of Rome has been developed into a Theocratic Monarch. The East is of another spirit, and has refused to admit the monarchical conception into the life of the Church and has now maintained her stand for eleven successive centuries in spite of the appalling sacrifices which the hostility of the West has cost her.

If in those times in which all the rest of the world was not in a position to realize the value of the democratic conception, the Greek Church rejected Absolutism in the ecclesiastical system, as something more to be feared than bodily slavery, assuredly it would be a blunder that to-day when the whole world is enthusiastic for Democracy and federative organization, serious mention should be made of the possibility that the Greek Church might yield to Roman propaganda.

France holds the problem of the Union of the Churches in her hands. It is sufficient to think of the great Bossuet and his celebrated " *Déclaration de l'assemblée du Clergé de la France*—which the Absolutism of Louis XIV, itself the blind tool of the absolutism of Rome, suppressed. When will a new Bossuet arise to impel France to win the emancipation of its ecclesiastical life from monarchical Rome ? That day will indeed be notable in the history of the world. France thus belonging ecclesiastically to herself, and accepting the synodic and federative system of the Church, will become the pioneer in solving the problem of organizing all believers in Christ as God's Son into a single organization. Then the Greeks' friends in France will see how readily the Œcumenical Patriarchate with the whole Federation of Orthodox Churches will seek union with the French Church as with an honoured and equal sister. That done, it will be the same with every other Church and then the Bishop of the Roman Monarchy himself will perceive that the rank

of *primus inter pares, i.e.* of President of the Christian Federation, is more in accordance with human need and the Divine Will than the idolatrous rank of *pontifex Maximus*.

These reflections of mine will be described in France as chimerical. None the less to me the suggestion made from that source through you is even more chimerical.

With love and heartfelt good wishes.

✠ MELETIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Constantinople.
1st *March*, 1923.

HYMNS FROM THE HOLY QURBANA ORDER OF THE ORTHODOX SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR

(The Liturgy of St. James)

BY HUBERT RILEY

NOTE.—*These metrical versions are the Author's copyright, and may not be reproduced without his permission.*

FOR THE SERVICE OF PREPARATION

Come, Sinners, come, and for his grace implore.
To them who knock he openeth the door:
They that ask shall have full measure,
They that seek shall win the treasure.
Come, Sinners, come, and for his grace implore.
Remember, Sir, the souls that here-to-fore
With your Flesh and Blood enhearted
In the hope of Life departed,
That they may share your glory evermore.
Come, Sinners, come, and for his grace implore.

BEFORE THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL

I heard the voice of Blessed Paul:
" If a man or angel durst
Gainsay my words in great or small,
His name shall be accurst;
For many teachings send forth shoots
And far and wide have err'd,
And happy he who hath his roots
And blossom in God's Word."

After the Gospel

O happy servant in the harvest-days
Whose diligence shall earn the Master's praise :
  The Father at the board shall seat them,
  The Son shall gird himself to meet them,
  The Holy Ghost with crowns shall greet them
And deck their heads with never-fading bays.

The Eucharistic Adoration

With the B.V.M.

Glory of the faithful, aid us
With your prayers to him who made us,
  Whom you bore, though God's own Son,
  Christ the Sole-begotten One,
Mary, Maid and Mother, aid us.

To the Maid, the Great King's daughter,
Gabriel came, and thus he taught her :
  " Maiden, Peace, be not affrayd !
  God is with thee, to be made
Man of thee, the Great King's daughter."

God she honour'd, with God laden,
Whom God honour'd, ever maiden ;
  Babe for burden, God for Son,
  Womb for hold, Fair Galleon !
God was with her, with God laden.

May your Mother's prayers, Lord Jesus,
May the Holy Cross release us
  From the justice of the rod,
  From the righteous wrath of God,
In the hour of need, Lord Jesus.

With the Saints in Heaven

Like the cedars in the valley
They shall throng in joyful rally,
  Saints who toil'd nor toil'd in vain,
  Glad as palm-trees in the plain,
Glad as cedars in the valley.

Age to age through endless æons
They shall send forth shoots and scions,
  Burgeoning the leaves among,
  Ageless ever, ever young,
Towering through eternal æons.

With the Patron Saint

Holy Thomas, to whose glory
Earth and Heaven tell the story,
  When before the Lamb you pray
  Aid us, Patron, who this day
Venerate the Saints in glory.

When we kneel before the Master
Lead us in our prayer, Good Pastor,
  On your sheep with blessing look,
  Lead us with your pipe and crook,
Lead us like a Moses, Pastor.

Thomas, praise in equal merit
Father, Son and Holy Spirit:
  God who chose you, holds in mind,
  Did your brows with laurel bind,
Trinity in equal merit.

May your prayers shower boon upon us—
(Mercy, Lord, have mercy on us)
  Saints of God, for pity urge
  That he put away the scourge
And, like dew, shower boon upon us.

DURING THE COMMUNION

O may the Voice that bids arise,
Raise up your servants' scatter'd dust,
That they may wake to Paradise
Through him in whom they put their trust.

The King, whose bounty gives to live,
Now leaves the burning cherubim,
His royal boon of Life to give,
That they may live who died in Him.

Each with his life, a kingly gift,
The dead rise up, to die no more,
And living voice of praise uplift,
And him, who gave them Life, adore.

O praise be to the Word of God:
" Nor will I suffer any whom
I feasted with my Flesh and Blood
To go the road to Sheol's doom.

For I took mortal flesh, and died
That Man might live, and live for ay."
O by your hands and feet and side,
Have mercy, Lord, on us alway.

O Son of God who died to save,
Whose death gave life to us who die,
O raise us, Master, from the grave
That we with quicken'd breath may cry:

" To Father, Son and Spirit, praise
Henceforth to everlasting days! "

(Saint Bartholomew's, 1936.)

A CONSPECTUS OF HISTORIC EASTERN CHRISTIANITY

By Canon J. A. Douglas, Ph.D.

THE tables[1] given below were prepared by me at the request of the Secretary of the Church of England Missionary Council for its fourth Unified Statement of work overseas published under the title of *The World Quest*.[2]

In effect, Eastern Christendom has been divided since Century V into three Christendoms.

1. The great Eastern Orthodox Communion which is dealt with in Table A.

2. The Vestigial Assyrian or Nestorian Church which is dealt with in Table B and which has been in communion with no other church since the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D.

[1] I have made a few corrections.
[2] Price 1s. Church Assembly Press and Publications Board, 1936.

3. The Monophysite Communion comprising the Coptic, Jacobite and Armenian Churches which are in communion with each other, but with no other church. They are dealt with in Table B.

In Table C I have dealt with the so-called Uniate Churches which, while retaining the rites and canons, etc., in an adapted form, of the historic churches from which they are schisms, are papalist. Of these, only the Ruthenians and Rumanians who were uniatised under Roman Catholic sovereigns in Century XVII, and the Melchites and Maronites who were brought into Union in the period of the Crusades, when Syria was ruled by Latin Kings, are considerable. The other Uniate Churches are something of painted ships on a painted ocean.

I have neither dealt with the modern Protestant Churches in S. India and elsewhere nor attempted to give figures for the Latins, for those who share the universal rites, canons, etc., of the Roman Catholic Church. The latter comprise the papalist Magyars, Czechs and Slovaks, and almost cent. per cent. the Croats and Slovenes. Outside the former dominions of the Hapsburgs, however, they are exiguous.

ANCIENT CHURCHES IN THE NEAR EAST AND EUROPE

A. The Eastern Orthodox Church

Patriarchate of Constantinople. (Turkey and the Dodecannese, 300,000: Greece, but under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, 1,500,000) ..	1,800,000
Patriarchate of Alexandria. (40,000 Greeks: 20,000 Syrians)	60,000
Patriarchate of Antioch. (About 225,000 Syrians: 25,000 Greeks)	250,000
Patriarchate of Jerusalem. (Almost all Arab-speaking Palestinians)	34,000
Serb Patriarchate. (In Yugo-Slavia Serbs are usually Orthodox, Croats and Slovenes Latins)	6,500,000
Patriarchate of Rumania. (Rumanians, apart from 300,000 Bulgars, and 800,000 Russians)	13,000,000
Patriarchate of Russia. (Impossible to ascertain.) Estimated number of Russian Orthodox, before 1917	116,000,000
Church of Cyprus. (All Greeks)	300,000
Church of Greece. (All Greeks)	3,750,000
Church of Bulgaria. (Almost all Bulgarians) ..	5,000,000

Church of Poland. (All Russians or Ukrainians) ..	5,000,000
Church of Georgia. (All Russians or Georgians) ..	270,000
Church of Albania. (Almost all Albanians)	150,000
Church of Finland. (Finns, 30,000 : Russians, 30,000)	60,000
Church of Estonia. (150,000 Russians : 70,000 Estonians)	220,000
Church of Latvia. (170,000 Russians : 70,000 Letts) ..	240,000
Church of Lithuania. (Almost all Russians)	75,000
Church of Czechoslovakia. (About 200,000 Ruthenians : 50,000 Czechs.)	250,000

B. Other Ancient Churches of the Near East

I. *The Assyrian or Nestorian Church,* separated from the Orthodox Church after the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D. (Iraq, 30,000 : Iran, 2,000 : Trans-Caucasian, etc., 10,000)	42,000
II. *The Monophysite Churches,* separated from the Orthodox Church after Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D.	
(1) *The Coptic Church,* national historic Church of Egypt. (Copts, 800,000 : Abyssinians, 3,500,000)	4,300,000
(2) *Jacobite or Syrian-Orthodox Church,* national historic Church of the Syrian Race. (Syria and Iraq)	120,000
[The Syrian Church in India (500,000) is in communion with this.]	
(3) *The Armenian Church,* national historic Church of the Armenians. (Soviet Republic of Armenia and Near East) Faithful to Church, probably	2,000,000 to 2,500,000

C. Uniate Churches

(Schismatic Churches which have broken off from, but, while accepting the Papacy, have kept the services and customs of their original Churches.)

(1) *Uniates of the Greek Orthodox Rite.* (Ruthenians mostly in Czechoslovakia and South Poland, 4,250,000 : Rumanians, mostly in Transylvania, 1,396,925 : Syrians, known as Melchites, 150,000 : Yugo-Slavs, 41,500)	5,838,425

(2) *Uniates of the Chaldæan Rite*, separated from Assyrian Church (in Iraq) 60,000

(3) *Uniates of the Alexandrian Rite.* (Copts, 35,000 : Abyssinians, 29,000) 64,000

(4) *Uniates of the Antiochene Rite.* (Maronites, separated at the time of Crusades, 322,000 : Pure Syrians, 62,000) 384,000

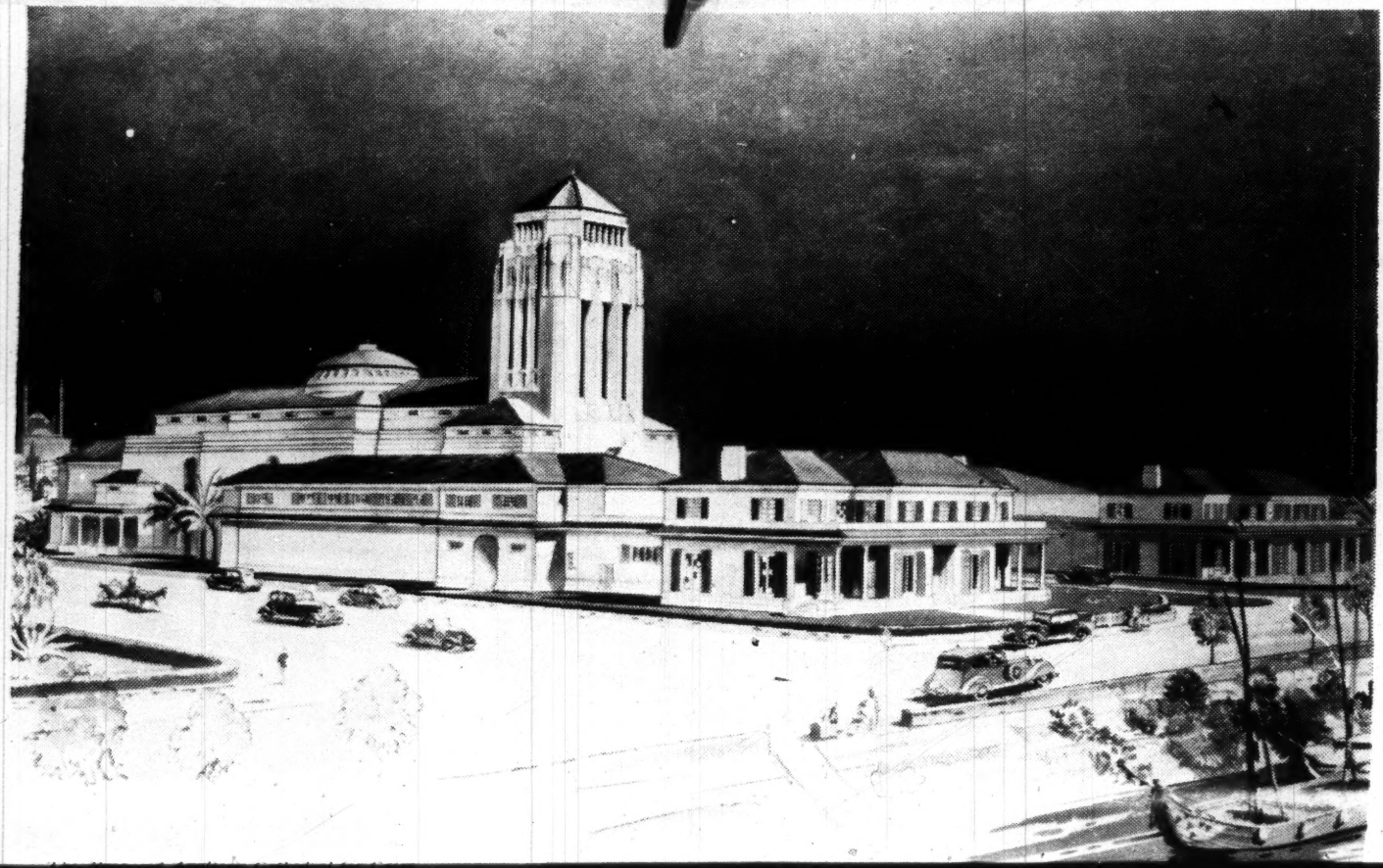
(5) *Uniates of the Armenian Rite.* (Syria, 41,000 : Rumania, 36,000) 77,000

MOSLEM AND JEWISH POPULATIONS IN THE NEAR EAST AND EUROPE

Country	Jews (*a*)	Moslems (*b*)	Country	Jews (*a*)	Moslems (*b*)
Europe.			*Europe (cont.).*		
Great Britain and Ireland ...	300,000	...	Latvia ...	94,388	...
Irish Free State	3,686	...	Lithuania ...	155,125	...
Holland ...	156,817	...	*Asia.*		
Belgium ...	60,000	5,000	Cyprus ...	...	72,340
France	220,000	80,000	Rhodes ...	...	12,000
Spain	4,000	...	Turkey (incl. Europe) (*d*)	81,872	13,269,606
Portugal ...	1,200	...	Syria and Lebanon ...	26,051	1,514,755
Italy	47,435	...	Palestine (*e*) ...	175,006	759,712
Switzerland ...	17,973	...	Transjordania	...	260,000
Denmark ...	5,947	...	Arabia ...	25,000	9,412,400
Scandinavian Countries ...	9,698	...	Iraq	72,783	2,644,124
Germany (*c*) ...	550,000	...	Iran	40,000	9,845,000
Czechoslovakia	356,830	...	Russia (R.S.F.S.R.)	49,571	3,400,000
Austria ...	191,408	...	*Africa.*		
Hungary ...	444,567	...	Sudan ...	...	3,000,000
Yugo-Slavia ...	68,405	1,558,279	Egypt ...	63,550	12,929,260
Bulgaria ...	46,431	789,296	Abyssinia ...	50,000	3,000,000
Albania ...	204	688,280	Algeria (and Sahara) ...	110,027	5,632,663
Greece ...	72,791	126,017	Morocco ...	143,000	4,938,285
Rumania ...	984,213	260,000	Tunisia ...	65,000	2,159,151
Russia (incl. Ukraine) ...	4,786,199	3,450,000	Libya	24,342	500,356
Poland	3,028,837	6,000			
Danzig	9,239	...			
Estonia... ...	4,566	...			

Jews = 12,495,843, *i.e.* approximately ⅓ of the world's total Jewish population.
Moslems = 80,312,524, *i.e.* roughly ⅛ of the total Moslem population of the world.

(*a*) Figures as given in the American Jewish Year book, 1935–6. (*b*) Figures as kindly supplied by the Rev. A. McLeish of World Dominion Movement. (*c*) The figure here given is for 1933. The number of Jews in Germany in December, 1935, was estimated at 430,000. (*d*) Jews in European Turkey = 55,592 ; in Turkey in Asia, 26,280. (*e*) The number of Jews in Palestine is now estimated at 350,000.



CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

WRITTEN OR COMPILED BY J. A. DOUGLAS

THE photo of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Antioch, which serves as our frontispiece this month, was given to me by the Patriarch Alexandros when last I visited him in Damascus. Of all the autokephalous Churches of the Orthodox Communion the Church of Antioch is probably least known to readers of *The Christian East*. That that is so is due first of all to the fact that relatively few Anglicans visit Syria and very few indeed reside in it. Then Christians are a minority in Syria, and the Greek-Orthodox, as to distinguish them from the Syrian-Orthodox they are usually called, only form one among several Syrian Churches. Finally they are in dispersion among Moslems and other Christians. To get contact with them is not easy.

The liturgical language of the Patriarchate is Arabic, its flock being arabophone Syrians who are the modern representatives of the glorious tradition of that primitive Syrian Church which was one of the mothers of Christian theology.

The present Patriarch Alexandros is a man of great charm and ability. Though some of them are hardly more than titular, there are fifteen bishoprics in the Patriarchate. In the photo readers of *The Christian East* will recognize the Metropolitans Epiphanios and Ignatios, who represented the Patriarchate at Lambeth in 1930 and 1931. The former has recently been in collision with the Holy Synod and has been deposed.

ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL FOR CAIRO.

Our other illustration is a sketch plan of the proposed Anglican Cathedral for Cairo, concerning which the Rev. E. M. Bickersteth, our Bishop in Egypt's commissary—and may his appeal for donations be answered by many half-crowns—writes as follows:

> " All who know Cairo will be interested to see the perspective drawing of the Anglican Cathedral which is now being built on the banks of the Nile. The illustration has been drawn by Mr. Norman Howard, and the architect, Mr. A. Gilbert Scott, has kept the design as simple as possible, so that the Cathedral will appear as a symbol of peace and calmness rising amid the turmoil of the city.
>
> " For nearly fifty years the British community worshipped in All Saints' Church, but by 1916 both church and site had become unsuitable. The late Bishop MacInnes presided at a public meeting, when it was unanimously agreed to build a cathedral,

which would also be a parish church, together with diocesan offices and a parish hall. In 1925 the old site was sold and with the approval of the Egyptian Government and H.B.M.'s Supreme Court for Egypt this sum was vested in trustees for the purpose of building and maintaining a cathedral church and the necessary buildings. From public subscriptions and interest, additional money has accrued and all that now remains to be raised is the final £10,000.

"There must be many who know Egypt either as soldiers, administrators, pilgrims or visitors, who would wish to contribute towards the completion of the Cathedral as a witness to the Christian faith and to the greater glory of God. There may be some also who would wish to commemorate the devoted lives of those who have served the Empire and the people of Egypt by making themselves responsible for some special part of the Cathedral. Particulars about this can be obtained from the Hon. Treasurer, the Rev. E. M. Bickersteth, 12, Warwick Square, London, S.W.1, to whom all contributions should be made payable and crossed Messrs. Coutts & Co. All who know Bishop Gwynne will rejoice to help him complete this twenty years old scheme and so crown his many years of devoted service in the cause of unity among Christians and the spreading of the Kingdom of God in Egypt and the Sudan."

The Metropolitan Antony of Kiev, R.I.P.

I account the friendship to which the Metropolitan Antony admitted me one of the privileges of my life. In the obituary notices of him which I contributed to *The Times* and to *The Church Times*—if I had time and ability I would try to write a book about him—I described him as the most outstanding figure of the century in the Russian Church. The justice of that estimate is evidenced in the extracts from *Glaznik*, the official organ of the Serb Patriarchate, for translations of which we are indebted to the Rev. E. N. C. Sergeant. Like the Patriarch Meletios, whom I reckon one of the few really great men that I have known, he was a rare fighter. As such he had his enemies. But none of them ever treated him as a negligible quantity. On the contrary, if love and hatred are the measure of greatness, he was very great. Like the Patriarch Meletios, between whose career and his in spite of all their contrasts there is a true parallel, neutrality was impossible where he was concerned. Men were either his devoted friends or his foes.

Like the Patriarch Meletios, again, he was a big-brained, far-seeing and strong-willed visionary of the statesman type. Having conceived a practical policy for the realization of the objective which

most men thought unachievable, he pursued it with an undeviating tenacity which refused compromise or retreat. If, like the Patriarch Meletios, again and again he saw his world fall to pieces just when his work appeared about to be crowned with success, like him, he never lost heart but began again.

* * * * * * *

The career of the Patriarch Meletios falls into three striking chapters. In the first, as the dominant personality in the Jerusalem Patriarchate, he is fighting for reforms the need and wisdom of which are to-day abundantly apparent. But he is beaten and obliged in 1906 to withdraw to Cyprus and is made Bishop of Kition. In the second, he becomes the central figure first as Archbishop of Athens in the Church of Greece and then as Œcumenical Patriarch in the Orthodox Communion. Anything seems possible. Constantinople may become the Queen City of a liberated Magna Græcia, of Asia Minor as well as the Greek lands of Europe. He may reconsecrate St. Sophia, preside at an eighth Œcumenical Council which will reconstitute the Orthodox World. But internecine quarrels paralyse the Greek armies, the Kemalists rout them at Afiun Karahissar, the horror of the holocaust of Smyrna takes place, and in 1923 as a sacrifice to the triumphant Turk he is forced to abdicate the Œcumenical Throne.

The positions open to an ex-Œcumenical Patriarch can be counted on one hand. In 1926, he is called as *de providentia Dei* from the permanent inactivity to which he seemed condemned and is elected Patriarch of Alexandria. There he does fine work for a decade and in 1936 is full of hope of returning as Patriarch to Jerusalem. The choice, however, does not fall on him and he passes to his rest.

The vicissitudes of the Metropolitan Antony's career are scarcely less dramatic. Before the war, though only in the forties, he is outstanding as a theologian and an ecclesiastic in Russia. He is marked out for the highest office and honour. But he is set to advocate the Reform of the Russian Church, and above all the restoration of the Russian Patriarchal office, as vital for the salvation of Holy Russia and its Tsardom. Suspicion and the displeasure of the Powers-that-be fall upon him and he is relegated, as in banishment, to the see of Kharkov. In 1917, when a new and democratic era seems to have come to Russia, he is the dominant figure in the All-Russian Council which meets in Moscow and restores the Patriarchate. In the Patriarchal election, he is easily ahead of all other nominees. But the decision is made by an old monk's drawing the name of one of the three who lead the poll from an urn. It is upon the timid and slow, if saintly, Patriarch Tikhon, and not upon him, that the choice falls. That he felt no disappointment is incredible. As time passed and first the stranglehold of Godless Communism was fixed upon the Russian

Nation and then the Russian Church was persecuted, oppressed and repressed pitilessly and persistently until, broken and disorganized, it was helpless, he must have repined and wished that the responsibility of its leadership had been his. No one who knew him can doubt that he would not have sat still. Maybe he might have failed and in failing have brought horrors immeasurably worse even than the Red Terror upon the Russian Nation. On the other hand—for the Bolshevik tyranny was uncertain and in the balance—he might have roused the Soul of Russia to deliver itself. But whatever was his inner grief, he suffered it in silence.

To the Patriarch Tikhon he was altogether loyal. Of him or of his actions he never uttered a word of criticism. When, after the collapse of Wrangel and the White Armies, he was swept away with their débris out of Russia, he must have felt that the end of all things had come. But he soon saw that a great work lay before him. Hundreds of thousands of Russians had been flung by the cataclysm all the world over. It was the duty of the Russian bishops in exile—and in his last free message the Patriarch Tikhon had charged and empowered them to do so—to make provision for the spiritual care of this dispersion and to organize its religio-national life. By his rank and his outstanding reputation the Metropolitan Antony was the inevitable leader of the Russian Church in exile. Difficulties were many. But he persevered and the Council of Russian Bishops which he brought into being and over which he presided at Sremsky-Karlovci till his death, bid fair to be the effective and accepted synodical authority of a Russian Church in exile which provided for the needs of the world-wide dispersion of Russian exiles and kept them faithful to Russia and to Orthodoxy.

But again, precisely when he seemed sure of success, his work broke in his hands. The Metropolitan Evlogie, believing himself to have been charged personally by the Patriarch Tikhon with the care of the Russian exiles in Western Europe, could not in conscience surrender his independence and accept the jurisdiction of the Council. A sharp conflict arose between him and the Metropolitan Antony. In secret the Russian Church in exile was distracted and paralysed by its division into two sections, the one centring in the Metropolitan Antony and the Council and the other centring in the Metropolitan Evlogie. That division spoilt the work of the Metropolitan Antony in his last years and persists even after his death.

Maybe an inability to compromise and an inexorable logic were weaknesses alike of the Patriarch Meletios and of the Metropolitan Antony and conspired with circumstances to prevent their reaching their objectives. But when history is written finally, they will receive the recognition which was denied them in their lives. Both

were great men and achieved great things in the great manner. Assuredly their works will follow them.

Moreover, both were very good and very kindly men. Like the Patriarch Meletios, whose life was rigid in its abstemiousness and whose household was Puritan in its strictness—he allowed no smoking, no alcohol, and no novels in it and was an ultra-Sabbatarian—the Metropolitan Antony was a monk in heart and in rule. He ate no flesh meat and drank no wine. He recited—I remember finding him according to his custom at 5 a.m. in church at Sremsky-Karlovci, making a congregation of three for the purpose—his daily offices at the set times and without fail. If the one side of him found joy in the work to be done in the world, the other side craved to have done with things mundane. His life long, he dreamed of forgetting the world and being forgotten by it in a monk's cell on Mount Athos.

Again, like the Patriarch Meletios—and that, I think, is why those of us who knew them intimately as men loved them—he was very kind. Where he once gave his friendship, he never took it away. As a hierarch, he could be severe even to harshness and altogether uncompromising, but in his mind he was always understanding of the human quantity. It was thus that while at one time he was ready to sentence the Metropolitan Evlogie to excommunication and degradation for what he regarded as his criminal and perverse obduracy, he always spoke of him with kindliness. "*Brave homme*, Evlogie!" he would say. "He is very wrong but he thinks that he is right. And in heart he *is* a true Orthodox Bishop and son of holy Russia."

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Though I had been honoured with his acquaintance before, my first intimate contacts with the Metropolitan Antony were during his three weeks' visit to England for the Nikæan Commemoration of 1925, when I was with him *de die in diem*. That he gave me his abiding affection then was probably due to my caring as greatly as I can care, about the Russian Church and to the small part which I had taken in 1923 in stirring British opinion for the defeat of the Bolshevik Politik-bureau's avowed intention to stage a trial of the Patriarch Tikhon and to shoot him. The last time that I saw him, in May, 1935, his infirmities were heavy upon him and he was plainly waiting his call. His most faithful hierodiakon Theodosios, whose affection for him was beautiful beyond words and who tended him like a young child, had got him ready with great care. To see him struggling to be his old self would have been sad if it had not been clear that he was very happy. He was past long mental concentration and had lost touch with affairs. His memory had failed and he could not carry on a long conversation. But every now and then there was a flash of the old keenness and the old humour; and

all the time an aura of gentleness and kindness and love was about him. Just before I left him the Serb Patriarch Varnava, who loved him devotedly, came in and knelt with me when I knelt to receive his benediction. He joined our hands and bade me love the Patriarch as I had loved him.

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Christendom in general owes the Serbs a debt of admiration for their faithfulness to the Cross during nine centuries of helotage. We Anglicans are bound to them by many ties of brotherhood and of mutual service which are knit in the Great War. But if anything could increase our gratitude to the Serb nation and the Serb Church it is the loyalty and devotion of the Serbs to the martyred Russian Church. History has no parallel. In pre-War days, the Serb Nation prided itself on being the " little sister " of mighty and holy Russia. In everything possible, the Serb Church has acted as such to the Russian Church in Exile. Thus, according to its ability, it has treated the Russians who have found asylum in Yugo-Slavia not as refugees but as honoured guests and of its own family. For that those of us who are passionate lovers of Russia can never repay it.

The Metropolitan Antony and Anglican Orders.

Up to the present the majority of the Russian bishops in exile have held that they cannot adjudge the question of Anglican Orders, but that it must await decision so far as the Russian Church is concerned until the Russian Church as a whole can pronounce upon it. The Metropolitan Antony was otherwise minded and was distressed at the decision of the Sremsky-Karlovci Synod in 1935 that until a reconstituted Holy Synod of the Russian Patriarchate had ordered the removal of the existing precedents, an Anglican priest on acceding to Orthodoxy should be re-ordained.

As far back as 1925 the Metropolitan Antony published this mature opinion in the Belgrad *Novoye Vremya :* " It would be impossible to refuse the Anglican Episcopate that which was conceded to the Nestorians and to the Donatists by the Council of Carthage and by St. Basil the Great, namely, their reception into Unity by the Third Rite and the Recognition of their existing Orders."

(*Continued on page* 128-)

A RUMANIAN JOURNEY

By Father VICTOR SHEARBURN, C.R.

GREAT friendliness, unlimited hospitality, a lovely country, and a magnificent peasantry—these are the impressions that stand out most clearly after some two months of wandering up and down the land of Rumania.

Somewhere about the end of last June two Englishmen landed in the dawn from the Danube steamer at the river port of Giurgiu, and sedately travelled up to Bucarest—and from that moment things moved! Our ambition was twofold; first and more specially, to see something of the religious life in this most Orthodox land, and second, to try to dispel some of the mists of our own ignorance about Rumania.

There followed ten days at the Patriarchate, made interesting by Bishop Veniamin, the Patriarchal Vicar-general, and the Archimandrite Efrem, Exarch of the Monasteries in the Patriarchal Diocese; His Holiness himself was even then on his way to England, a sort of lion and mice exchange! Each day was spent in visiting one of the great monasteries of monks or nuns which encircle the capital, Caldarușani, Pasarea, Țiganești, Cernica, the monastic seminary, and, finally, a magnificent run northwards, through Ploești and the oil-fields, to Sinaia and the cool of the hills and its choir of nightingales.

Impressive and historic as these great religious houses are, at the same time their past history has left its mark on them. Twice in the last hundred years have they undergone expropriation of their property, and yet out of their enforced poverty the spirit of the Life has clearly risen again, for they are neither dead nor sleeping. Perhaps the thing which strikes the stranger most at first, especially if he knows only our own communities and a few of the great houses of the Continent, is the realisation of the background whence all these Brothers come, the strong, fine, devout peasantry, which forms eighty-five per cent. of Rumania's population. And the second impression, on nearer acquaintance, is the difference in atmosphere of those monasteries that have an Athos-trained Abbot.

A further effect of enforced poverty and the march of time is seen in the organisation of most of the women's houses, which is nearer to that of Béguinages; for the Mothers live singly or in little groups in their small houses, and meet together only in the church and over common work. But both among monks and nuns there is a movement towards a rich recovery of all that the Common Life means. "Idiorhythmy" is losing favour under the pressure of modern life.

We left Bucarest and our kindly hosts with some regrets, but time was limited, and only an Englishman can respond to the subtle

pressure of a " programme " to be dutifully fulfilled ! A long night journey in a packed *Accelerat* took us north to Cernauţ, the seat of that strong and hospitable prelate, Archbishop Visarion of the Bukovina. Once again we were the favourites of fortune, as the very next day he re-dedicated a newly-restored small monastic church half-way down the steep banks of the Dniester on the Polish frontier, and all the world in gayest peasant clothes came to make holy holiday. The Liturgy was sung in the open air at an altar lovely with flowers and embroideries, and the hush of the " Our Father " will remain long in our memories.

The next day we set out with Fr. Tarangul, kindliest and most devout of priests, as our guide to go to the famous monasteries of the Bukovina. Suceava, shrine of St. John the New, a martyr of Turkish days, gave us new insight into the deep religion of the Rumanian peasant ; and then the first of the fortified monasteries of the North, Dragomirna, in the midst of woods, welcomed us royally. At about 1.15 a.m. the rhythmical hammering of the wooden *toaca* called us to the Night Office, notable, I confess, to the Western ignoramus, chiefly for its length ! " A quiet night and a perfect end " of our prayers after the evening meal gave place to the watchfulness of love, for " in the night-season I take no rest " is better understood by our Eastern Brethren. And yet it was strange to us to find that, when the time came for the daily Liturgy to be offered, all had scattered to their toil, and only those necessary to perform the service were in church. But I want to go to Dragomirna again !

The road led on through the foothills, and grew (it seemed then) the world's dustiest way, through Radauţ, to Sucevița, another fortified monastery, with the first that we had seen of those marvellous churches which are frescoed within and without, a blaze of colour and pictured saints. And each of these religious houses has its " museum," containing *epitaphia* and other embroideries worked by the ladies of Rumania's princes in past centuries, such as make the Westerners' mouths water—and this even when much was sent to Moscow during the World War for safety ! Needless to say, these things have not yet been returned.

The goal of our day's journey was Putna, where lies buried the great national hero, Stephen the Great (d. 1504), a man whose influence extended far beyond the boundaries of his own kingdom. The legend tells that Daniel the Hermit, when consulted by Stephen as to the site for his monastery-to-be, after keeping his royal visitor waiting an hour or two for the good of his soul, pointed vigorously towards a spot some miles away, so vigorously that the pointing finger flew off and landed at Putna ; at any rate, there it is to-day, both monastery and finger.

The next day took us on to more of the glorious frescoed churches, of which that at Voroneţ is the most beautiful, and then over the

" Chestnut " pass to Vatra-Dornei, a sort of Malvern Wells, where the Archbishop had a guest-house, and we were very glad to rest. Our guide, Fr. Tarangul, there left us, carrying back our gratitude to the Archbishop.

And then came adventure indeed. To get to the south part of the diocese and to its monasteries meant a new form of travel—by raft, down the Bistrița river. A jolly raft had been made ready for us ; on the front member (or whatever the technical term is) were a rough-carpentered table, a seat, some small pine-trees and flags. We embarked at about noon and were told that we should be at Brosteni about seven. We were not. The first part of the voyage ran through the famous Chiele or Keys, narrow, rushing, twisting gorges in the hills requiring expert handling of our long craft. Then over many rapids, until we came to the village of Crucea ; but here we heard that ahead of us was a serious jam. Our captain—all praise to him—got us in eventually near to midnight, having navigated rapids and all in the dark for the last three hours or more. Kind hosts were waiting for us, and soon the adventure seemed a thing of the past, but the memories of the tall, pine-clad hills on either side of the swift river will remain.

At Piatra-Neamț the following day a kindly sub-prefect took us in his charge, and we set out for the three great monasteries of Varatek, Agapea, and Neamțu. Varatek has four hundred nuns, Agapea some three hundred, and both are more like small monastic towns, for here, too, the life is to be compared with that of the Béguines. At both there is work of great artistry being done, and I coveted the carpets in particular both for their colouring and for their obvious wearing powers. For the church at Agapea Grigorescu, the Rumanian painter, has given the best of his art, and their present chaplain is passing on the tradition of beauty in work and worship. The last surprise of the day was perhaps the best, for we went on our way to the great Mother Monastery of Rumania, Neamțu, which stands majestically in a wide valley. We made our way to the Abbot's quarters to say, " We've come," only to receive the reply, " So have I, a couple of hours ago ! " And we learnt that we had arrived in time for the next day's (Sunday) installation of the new Abbot by Archbishop Nicodem of Iași. Abbot Melcisedec Dimitriu is a leader of men, without fear or affectation, and I conceived the desire to see his old monastery. He told me that he was starting back there at midnight ; would I come ? This was a little unexpected, but start at midnight we did, and after about three hours' journey through the night over some better and many worse roads, we arrived at the railway junction of Pașcani, to find the station full of seeming corpses of soldiers and peasants sleeping. It was a warm night, and the current bouquet was of humanity in full strength. We had decided to spend some time in Iași before going

on to the Abbot's monastery in Bessarabia, and so we visited the Cathedral, the palatial Prefecture, and the ancient and ornate Church of the Three Holy Hierarchs, the oldest thing in this former, rather depressing, capital.

The train took us on through rolling downland country, not unlike Yorkshire, to Chişinau, chief city of Bessarabia, and the second largest in Rumania. The first striking thing here was the wide layout of the town, a fine boulevard running the length of it, the Cathedral set well back with gardens in front, and facing it the Mitropolie. Archbishop Gurie received us, and showed us his large garden, asking the while sundry theological questions, to which, I trust, he received satisfactory answers. Russian days have left their mark here, not least in the welcome samovar! To one who has never been properly trained to coffee, it was good to be again in a country that understands tea! Here is a large theological faculty, with well over a thousand students. The same large numbers of theologians-to-be are found at Bucarest, and more again at Cernauţ; I cannot yet understand how the Church can hope to absorb all these men, or, if not, whither their studies are leading them: this more especially, if such study is not uncoupled with much individual ambition. The Orthodox student is willing to take longer over his years of preparation, to go abroad if need be. The English student is usually more anxious to get into parish work. There is opportunity and place ready in Rumania for the Anglican, who is prepared to spend a further year of training, studying and learning Orthodox life, theology and thought.

On again to Tighina, the last town in Rumania, with the Dniester running close by. By now I thought I knew something about (1) dust, (2) third-class roads, but the seven-kilometre amble in a *trasura* to the monastery of Noul Neamt completed my education in this respect. Fr. Melcisedec greeted us, and, blessings on him, suggested a cold bath! The English element of the party leapt at this, and very good it was.

The gateway of the monastery is a very tall tower; from this we looked across over the Dniester to the Russian town of Tiraspol —with not one church left. This was a grim moment. But on our side of the river, there were the three Churches of the Community, and the daily offering of the Holy Liturgy and the Church's prayer.

It was good on our return to Chisinau to find Fr. Antim Nicov, a former guest at Mirfield, now priested and a monk of Curchi, which we visited in his company. A further long drive took us to Ţiganeşti and to the women's convent of Tabora. So ended the first part of the journey, and a night in the train brought us back to Bucarest, and great heat.

For the second stage we had planned to see something of the smaller but historic monasteries of Oltenia, especially as here there

had been a strong move for the full recovery of the Common Life. Then we hoped to go on to Transylvania. Thanks to our hosts of the Patriarchate and the Government, and many other willing and kindly co-operators, all this was made possible and exceedingly pleasant.

An afternoon's run in the hottest of iron railway coaches took us to Curtea d'Argeş, where we were received by Bishop Grigorie, and saw his Cathedral Church, with its curious twisted columns, that make the visitor doubt his own sobriety and the church's stability. The illusion was completed by a couple of gipsy musicians outside the gates, singing " Bring the wine and bring the beer ! " The day of our visit was the anniversary of the death of King Ferdinand, and, after solemn Liturgy, a Trishagion was sung at his tomb, where Generals of the Rumanian Army mounted guard. More interesting than the architectural peculiarities of the Cathedral was the ancient church Domneiasca, where are buried the early Rumanian princes, and Radu Negru Voda lies there under a sheet of glass, crowned and belted, telling his people of the glories of their nation in ancient days.

A car took us on through jolly country and hills to Râmnicu-Vâlcea, where the Bishop was away, but M. Cerneanu, the Director of the Seminary, genially took us on, and accompanied us throughout Oltenia. After a short call at Govora monastery, where the first Rumanian printed books were made, friends lodged us in Govora itself, a pleasant hill resort, and a paradise after the heat of the capital.

Here we were joined by Father Gâldau, just returned from accompanying the Patriarch to England, and by Professor Ispir of Bucarest, who spent some time at Oxford, and being now a large party, we set out for the religious houses of the region. Our way led along lovely mountainous roads to the monastery built by the Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu in the early eighteenth century at Hurezu —this shortly before he met a horrible fate at the hands of his Turkish overlords. Although this house is on the same plan as most Orthodox monasteries, namely, a quadrangle with one or more churches enclosed in it, there is something particularly exquisite about it. Perhaps it is the beautifully-carved stone columns of the outer porch and the fretted stonework of the staircase leading up to the Abbess' apartments. Here, the Lady Abbess being very wise, an element of activity has entered into life, for the Mothers have a small school ; at the same time there have been reforms towards the recovery of the Common Life, such as the return to eating at a common table. The same Lady Abbess is ruler also of Bistriţa, not so beautiful, save for the surroundings—it nestles under the hills, just where the river of the same name breaks through a gorge. This abbey was at one time a barracks, and now besides the sisters it houses a number of orphans, who are being cared for and taught by them. To us, who are accustomed to activity in connection with the life of our religious, it is not easy to appreciate how new this notion is to our Orthodox

Brethren; the further progressive move of the establishment of a Nursing Community, started during this September, calls for prayers, and has met with not a little opposition from the more conservative elements in the Church.

Oltenian people seemed to us the most friendly people in a friendly country, and when we arrived to stay at the tiny monastery of Polovragii, nothing could have surpassed the charm of our welcome. Here I had the joy of celebrating the Anglican Liturgy in the big guest-room on the morning after our arrival, and all our friends were present. Later on, small Brother Ioan, aged about 15, took us up the hillside to explore the deep, and, after the outer air, very cold caves, that are said to run right through the mountains to the Transylvanian side; we did not test this!

"*Ploaie*" was next day's watchword, and it did rain very thoroughly all the way through the county town of Târgiu-Jiu, and on to Tismana, the farthest west of this group of monasteries, and the most beautifully situated in a narrow valley between hillsides of chestnuts and pines.

The journey homeward began with a visit to the Schit or cell of Lainic, where the genial Protopope of Târgiu-Jiu and his friend, Professor Danu, came out to meet us with a wonderful lunch! This little priory is at the head of the defile of the River Jiu, where it breaks its way through the mountains—one of the beauty spots of the country, though it must be very severe here in winter. We were still some miles from home, and one of our two cars was definitely being temperamental; this developed into temper, and after a chase of about twenty miles down a wrong road, nearly taking a broken bridge by mistake on the way, we failed to arrive at our ultimate destination till four o'clock the following morning! But after all, what of it? We were learning many new ideas about Time and how not to be dominated by it.

The next day our way took us on to visit Cozia, and then through the defile of the River Olt and the Red Tower Pass to the little Schit of Cornuta, a tiny house that suffered much during the War and has been tastefully restored. Now we began to leave the mountains behind us and to cover the great plain that led to Sibiu, the seat of the Metropolitan of Transylvania. Here Fr. Scorobeț received us and proposed that next day we should spend a really Rumanian Sunday by going out to a village, Salişte. This was one of the most interesting days of all. Salişte nestles under the mountains, is completely Rumanian, and has remained so throughout, even in the days of oppressive Magyarization before the War. It was intriguing after the four-hour Liturgy to be addressed in good American by several people, for now in the days of freedom a number of those who had migrated under the persecutions have returned and made their homes again in their native country.

High up in the mountains at Pâltiniş, Archbishop Balan has built among the trees a pine-log guest-house and a pine-log church, and here we found him with a large St. Bernard dog and pup. He kindly asked us to hold an English service in the evening, and so Compline was sung in his little church. All the monasteries of Transylvania, to the number of about a hundred and fifty, were destroyed in the eighteenth century, and he is engaged in restoring the only one of the ancient ones, which it is possible so to do. This we visited next day and found an artist working miracles in the way of bringing to life again the frescoes, with which the church had once been adorned. It was a joy to be again among "mountainy men," and there was the feeling that the Church is very much alive in Transylvania. This feeling was intensified as we travelled farther west, and met Bishop Popoviciu of Oradea Mare. Young, keen, and a competent theologian—we were discussing Eucharistic theology at 1.30 in the morning!—he gave me the impression that here there could be no doubt that the Church in this land would be a living force. Both here and at Sibiu there is a diocesan press, turning out devotional and theological works of a high standard.

This was the country of the ancient wooden churches, most fascinating to see, and testifying to a faith triumphing over all the adverse conditions of a foreign and unfriendly domination. There was something truly inspiring in the crudely-drawn, deeply devotional ikons of these churches; suffering and love are clear in them.

Fortunately for us, Bishop Andreiu Magier had just returned to Arad, and there he told us of the impression that his visit to England with the Patriarch had made upon him.

Our time was now running short, and so we parted company, I to fly over the Carpathians back towards Bucarest, my companion to go more leisurely to Craiova and on to Maglavit, the small village that has sprung into prominence lately through the vision, life and work of Petrarche Lupu, the shepherd. Over a million folk visited there last year, and more still come.

Briefly stated, what has happened is as follows. Petrarche had a showing from God, bidding him preach. After a first refusal he obeyed, and, having been looked into by God, his words are simple and spoken with power—"Love God, come to Church, do not sin," things that in the mouth of any other would sound banal, and yet he is changing the lives of many. The impression given to me is that the man is just a flame, being consumed, and at the same time remaining the quiet and simple shepherd. When he prays, men feel compelled to pray with him; when they kneel to him, he lifts them up and lightly smacks their faces! There is a refreshing sanity about it all.

For myself there remained a visit to the famous scholar, Professor

Iorga, at Valenii-del-Munte, the country village which he has transformed by his own personality and work, and where he holds his summer schools for university students from all over the world. And then more kindness from hosts and friends in Bucarest before reluctantly embarking on the Orient Express for home.

My hope is that this short account of our wanderings will inspire others to go the same way. Here is a church, deeply rooted in the ancient ways, twelve million strong, its strength lying in the fine, sturdy peasantry. The stranger is received with genuine kindness, and an almost overpowering hospitality. Our impressions were of a strong spiritual life, a very wise Chief Ruler in the person of His Holiness Miron Cristea, and of the existence of a something in the life and faith of a people, that Western materialistic civilization has not yet perverted or destroyed.

A. & E.C.A. NOTES

THE Association was much honoured and gratified to receive, on the occasion of its 72nd Anniversary, letters of blessing and greeting from four of the most distinguished prelates of the Orthodox Church. They are as follows :—

FROM THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

On the occasion of the celebration of the 72nd Anniversary of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, as an old member and fervent supporter of its meritorious aim and sacred purpose we mentally participate and are spiritually amidst you, brethren in our Lord and collaborators into His vineyard.

The grain of mustard seed with the blessing of our Lord grew up and became a tree, found supporters and heralds of its great and meritorious aim and cultivated and promoted the sacred command " That they all may be one."

Now from the East and the West, from Europe and America, the general interest is raised and sermons are heard throughout the world in all the Churches and from everywhere is addressed to our Lord and Saviour warm prayer " for the union of all." Great Pan-Christianic Conferences and their branches are collaborating in various countries in brotherly love for the predominance and promotion of the sacred will throughout the whole world.

The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association is doing its part among the first in the great Movement of Reunion of the Anglican Church and the Churches of the East.

We thank Almighty God, the Giver of all good, that has blessed

the steps of the founders of the Association and those who undertook the continuation of its work, we congratulate you and bless you fatherly, wishing abundantly the Blessing of our Lord and Saviour upon the leaders and the members of the pious Association for a greater progress and success of this great and meritorious Movement.

(*Signed*) THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA
NICHOLAS.

Alexandria, *November 2nd*, 1936.

FROM THE PATRIARCH ELECT OF JERUSALEM.

Many thanks for your printed notice of the celebrations on November 18th, and for your kind letter of October 21st, 1936.

I wish I could be with you during the meetings of our Association. This, being impossible, I shall be with you on that day by my prayers. I extend my greetings and my blessing to all the members and visitors at this meeting.

I shall keep always in mind how our Association is striving to create a Unity of the Church, and that means a Unity of Love, and Love means a Sacrifice.

How our Association is going to preach the Gospel, that is to say the value of the Cross and Resurrection for building up a household of God.

This is to be realized, if we subordinate our will to that of God, if we are ready to offer something.

And as the work of Our Lord and our Church is sacrifice, so the mission of our Association must be a sacrifice, because sacrifice is Love, and Love is Unity. Under this flag let our Association march on, and till our last day let this be our ideal.

With best wishes and prayers.

(*Signed*) ✠ TIMOTHEUS,
Patriarch-Elect.

Jerusalem, *2nd Nov.*, 1936.

FROM THE PATRIARCH OF RUMANIA.

We have received your letter of the 21st ult., for which please accept our thanks.

Time and distance make impossible our participation in the 72nd Anniversary of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, which is going to be held on the 18th of this month.

We shall be thinking of you, however, especially on this particular occasion and pray our Good Lord that the work started by your Association may have His richest blessing and be the great success that we all hope it may, *i.e.* to bring together the whole Christendom

in the Fellowship of the Mother Christian Orthodox Church, the custodian of the true Faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

With all cordial greetings and patriarchical blessing to you and to all the members of your Association, I remain

Yours in Xto.,

(*Signed*) MIRON.

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS.

It was with great pleasure that I received your letter of October 21st, the Prayer Leaflet with the Litany of Unity and the programme of the seventy-second anniversary of the Association. Believe me that I was deeply touched by reading the prayers of the Litany and the programme; and from the depths of my heart I wish for the most successful results from this anniversary, the aims of which will so please our Lord.

My spirit will be present in your blessed gathering and my thoughts will reach you in a unity of prayer for the unity of all.

Please convey my greetings in Jesus our Lord to the beloved members of the Association; and my warmest wishes to all for a fruitful service in a sound understanding of the Holy Churches of God, so that we all may be one in His name.

With warm wishes,

(*Signed*) THE ARCHBISHOP CHRYSOSTOM.

These letters were read by the General Secretary at the Public Meeting which was held at St. Ermin's on November 18th, the Right Honourable Viscount Sankey being in the Chair.

Lord Sankey said that the reunion of Christendom, so far from being an impractical ideal or dream, had become a vital necessity in view of the world situation to-day, and went on to speak of the relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, in particular dwelling upon the debt which Western Christendom owed to the East.

Dr. Macdonald gave an interesting account of his visit to Rumania as a member of the Anglican Commission last year. He stressed the importance of the progress then made in mutual understanding and doctrinal agreement, which, he said, owed much to the prayers and enthusiasm of those who, like the members of "The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association," really cared about reunion with the East.

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Canon Wigram, in speaking on the *Assyrian Problem*, outlined the course of recent events in the history of that unfortunate people,

and made a trenchant appeal (printed below) to the conscience of the British people, which plainly moved his audience very deeply.

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In making his report to the Annual Business Meeting which preceded, the General Secretary said that the year had been a very successful one on the whole. Eighty-eight new members had joined the Association during that time, as compared with sixty-six during the preceding year.

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The Reverend R. Grange-Bennett, the West of England Secretary of the Association, expressed the thanks of the meeting to the Chairman and speakers and to all those who had contributed to the success of the Anniversary.

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On the same day in the morning the Divine Liturgy was celebrated on behalf of the Association at the Greek Cathedral by the Metropolitan Germanos, who was assisted by the Great Archimandrite, the Archimandrite Virvos, Father Florovsky, Father Behr and the Protodeacon Theokritov.

We were glad to see the Armenian Vartapet and Dr. Bhabba in the Cathedral. Dr. Greig (some time Bishop of Gibraltar) sat by the Metropolitan's throne.

The Association is indebted to the Orthodox clergy, the cathedral choir and all who took part in that majestic and beautiful service.

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Dr. Greig presided at a luncheon afterwards, when the Orthodox clergy were entertained by the Association, and nearly fifty people were present.

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The Association's stall at the Horticultural Hall on November 4th and 5th was again a centre of great interest. Some beautiful ikons, both old and new, were to be seen there and many opportunities occurred of making the work of the Association known to individual persons. The stall realized nearly £40.

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Branches of the Association have been started at Bristol and at Salisbury, the latter after a very successful meeting at which Chancellor Dimont presided and the Archimandrite Virvos and the General Secretary spoke.

THE ASSYRIAN PROBLEM

A Speech made by Canon Wigram on November 18th, 1936, at the 72nd Anniversary of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association.

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,

There is just one thing that no one likes to have said about him and it is this, that he has gone back on a friend ; and that is what is being said—and said truly—to-day of us English by our smallest and most loyal ally, the Assyrian people. They were our recognized ally in the War. I won't trouble you with the long story of what they did then. Suffice it to say that in fighting for us, they lost their all ; and it was through following the advice given by British officers—advice well-intentioned, but very disastrous—that the Patriarch Prince of the Assyrian Nation, the uncle of our honoured guest to-day, was murdered most treacherously.

Then came that wonderful trek of 500 miles from Kurdistan down to where our army was in Iraq. We received them and we promised them restitution to their own country. That promise was given by a certain Colonel McCarthy who has himself assured me, " I gave that promise ; I was authorized to give that promise—and how do I stand now to those to whom I gave it ? "

We were then victorious ; we had the game in our hands ; the Turk was ready to obey any order that we gave him and be thankful that it was not sterner. I know the truth of that. I was in their hands at that moment. The game was in our hands then. Those great men of old—men like John Jacob and John Lawrence who made our Indian empire in the Punjab, had one rule : " Never abandon a friend, never repudiate an agent." But we did not trouble to keep our word to those who had trusted us. We delayed. Men on the spot, men like Arnold Wilson, were ready and anxious to put the Assyrians back in their own home ; they were stopped from doing it when they were ready to move them, by home orders. Then came delay, and we delayed until the curse of " too late " came upon us, as so often happens. In the meantime, with these warlike mountaineers on our hands, we had to use them.

As so often happens after a great war, we were disarming in Iraq in too much of a hurry ; after driving the nail home we could not stay to clinch it, when another blow would have done it. But we were ready enough to use the Assyrians, and to raise something like a brigade, as a levy, from among them ; they fought at our side and for our cause, and fought well against Turks and Kurds. They were brigaded along with the Gurkha battalions. Those who know anything of the Indian Army will know that this is like brigading

Territorials with the Guards. When asked how the Assyrians had done, the answer was : " Serve out to us the same rope sandals that those fellows make themselves and then we shall have done as well as they." That from Gurkhas is sufficient testimony. They fought against the Arabs ; they fought against the Turks for us. When the Turks reinvaded Mesopotamia the general in command found himself without troops enough to meet these Turks ; he called upon the local bishop—an old pupil of mine—and asked if he could raise some Irregulars. " Can I raise Irregulars for the British ? " he said. " Of course I can." And he turned up in three days with 500 tribesmen asking to be allowed to lead them into action. Leave being given, his lordship gave his black coat to a deacon and led the army in purple trousers and white shirt ; while the British C.O. wondered—in his own words—whether the Archbishop of Canterbury would have done that episcopal job as well.

Then came the question of the Assyrians' return, and our delay had made that return difficult. The Turk was on his feet again now, and not only on his feet, but he had been allowed to have those five days' " Devil's holiday," when he could commit any atrocity he chose at Smyrna with impunity.

The difficulties were too great for the Assyrians to return to Turkey. We said, " We must refer your business to the League of Nations, but we promise to see to your interests there." The League, as usual, talked very big, and then let down the weak. (Those of us who would like to believe in the League of Nations, who see what a great thing it could be for civilization—how are we to go on believing in it when again and again it acts as if it were a mere fraud ?) The League took the matter into consideration. It said it could have no consideration for rebels like these Assyrians who had risen against their lawful lord, the Turk ! They were giving every consideration to other rebels—the Arabs—but the Arabs were a bigger lot who could speak for themselves. But even the League said the Assyrians must have a place where they could have their own rights and self-government, and that the responsibility of the British ought to continue for 25 years in order that that might be secured to them. Yet, neither of these was done. When the British mandate over Iraq was terminated, the Assyrians felt that they had been betrayed and every British officer who had served with them felt the same. Attempts were made to settle them as a scattered Christian community in Iraq ; this attempt failed ; they were told that they were very hard to please. (No doubt they were !—they had the impertinence to ask for what the League had said was to be given to them.) But they would not and could not give up faith in the England whom they were serving.

Meanwhile, the levies which had been raised went on in our service ; they were employed on the ground in the Air Force in

Iraq. When the Air Marshal was told by the High Commissioner that these ground establishments would be guarded and kept safe by the men of the Iraq Army, he said " Indeed they will not ; I am not going to trust to them. You must either give me British troops or the Assyrian levies ; I do not care which of these two does it, but one of these two it has to be." So they went on serving in Iraq. But the Mohammedans disliked having this army of Christians among them, and it was said that it was a great mistake on our part so to use them. Knowing the Mohammedan as he is, I think this was arguable. We were asking for trouble when we used these Christians against Mohammedans. But *this*, my Lord, *is not arguable*, that when we so used them we became responsible for them ! That was in 1925. In 1932, when 7 of the 25 years had gone, we chucked our mandate and left the Assyrian question unsettled still. His Excellency, the High Commissioner of Iraq, declared that it was perfectly safe, that he had never known such really enlightened Mohammedans as those in Iraq, and if they should prove unworthy of the responsibility we were clearly responsible ; so said the man who was forcing this agreement through. The Assyrians somehow did not trust the people of Iraq as firmly as the man who was going away as soon as that agreement had been made ! Had he been there to live with his wife and children under the conditions those people were to live, he would have thought differently. The levies, as was their right in accordance with their engagement, said they would now resign and not serve any longer ; that was inconvenient, and His Excellency, the High Commissioner, appealed to the Patriarch to get the levies to return. At his appeal they did so return, and then came the question as to whether the people would settle down in Iraq. The High Commissioner offered the Patriarch a very large salary (what we should call a large bribe) if he would get his people to accept what he felt to be safe terms. His grace said he could see no future save in Iraq ; he would try—bribe or no bribe—to put the matter through, but that he must ask one thing, that he might have the recognized right to speak on behalf of his people with that government and through that government to whom they were being entrusted. The Patriarch was arrested and deported without trial for daring to make such a request, and still remains unable to return and is not given full personal liberty. There was a natural atmosphere of fear among the Assyrians when that became known. Consequently they were called upon " either to settle or to go." At a gathering at which Government representatives put that choice to them, many of them said " We will go," and they got up to leave and tried to leave Iraq for the French Province next door. They were not allowed to enter there ; they were not allowed to return to Iraq. Given an army of wild tribesmen under those conditions, is it greatly to be

wondered at that there was trouble? Who shot first nobody knows there was certainly a skirmish, and after it the Assyrians made their way up to certain hill districts; but this is known, that immediately there was a ghastly massacre of unarmed men and women and children in the nearest Assyrian villages; this was carried out by the troops of the Government of Iraq acting under the immediate orders of their officers, which officers were immediately decorated or promoted by the Government for what they had done!

It was recognized now that the Assyrians could not stay in Iraq, and another effort was to be made to find them a home. The League of Nations was again approached; they said, "It is a matter for you. Have you no colonies?" Various efforts were made to find a settlement; one after another has gone phut. It had not been sufficiently examined—or it was too costly for us to consider it! Suppose it cost, let us say £1,000,000 to settle these people decently—giving our national income as at least £2,000,000,000 a year! Supposing a man with an income of £2,000 a year had it said to him, "This young fellow has lost his all through working for you. It will cost £1 to set him up again"; and the man had said "I cannot raise £1, the cost of living is so high. I do not mind 2s. 6d."—what would you say?

The Archbishop of Canterbury raised the matter again in the House of Lords and reminded His Majesty's Government that the Assyrians were our recognized ally. The minister who was put up to answer him replied that they were not our only ally. They were the only ally who had lost their all, and the only one to whom we have given a promise that they should have a home of their own!

We gave our promise and we broke it—for our convenience. We used these people till the Arabs hated them—again for our convenience. We gave up the mandate which was to protect them—again at our convenience! Will it be possible to say that our national shield is clean until we have redeemed our word and given these people a home where they can live?

GREECE REVISITED

By PHILIP USHER

THE writer of this article was resident in Athens from 1926 to 1930, and, while he is cautious about prophecy in politics, he would not, during those years, have been afraid to forecast that the restoration of the Glucksburg dynasty was wholly impossible.

When he visited Greece in the May of this year, King George II of that House was again in occupation of his throne with the

goodwill of the vast majority of his subjects. This quite unexpected development may be attributed to three things—the international economic crisis, the remarkable personality of General Kondylis, and the action of the King himself as soon as he returned.

The economic crisis, which began in 1931, deeply undermined the prestige of Venizelos, at that time in unchallenged power. It is true that no government, however authoritative, and no statesman, however gifted, could then have preserved the Greek national economy intact. The Bank of Greece had large holdings in England which were heavily depleted when the British Government abandoned the Gold Standard. Greek economic life depends on invisible exports, the earnings of the Greek mercantile marine and moneys sent home by emigrants, chiefly from the United States of America. The Wall Street crisis put an end to one source of income, while the paralysis of international trade reduced the shipping of most countries to the verge of bankruptcy. Nevertheless the prestige of Venizelos never fully recovered from the accident of his being in office when the calamity occurred. He and his allies were defeated at the ensuing elections.

This need not in itself have involved the overthrow of the Republic. It is probable that before 1935 none of the leaders of the various Royalist parties had any serious intentions of restoring the monarchy. But the Venizelists had been in power for ten years and found it hard to brook exclusion, not merely from power, but from all the perquisites which political power involves in Greece. Venizelos himself was particularly and justifiably embittered by the failure to convict and punish the culprits of the monstrous attack upon his life, when he and his wife were pursued for three miles along the main road from the fashionable suburb of Kephissia to Athens by a high-powered car, which fired a continuous rain of bullets into their own motor, wounding Mme. Venizelos and the chauffeur and killing Venizelos's personal bodyguard. It was known that the attack was planned and carried out by Royalist police officials, using a notorious brigand for their purposes. Powerful influences in the Popular (the principal Royalist) Party succeeded in shielding the culprits, whose trial seemed likely to be protracted indefinitely. It became impossible for Venizelos to remain in Athens, and he had to divide his time between his home in Crete and long visits abroad.

Losing patience, he gave his support to, if he did not engineer, the disastrous Republican rebellion of March, 1935. The outbreak had been cleverly planned in its earlier stages, but the rebels ruined their chances by despatching the mutinous fleet to Crete to establish contact with Venizelos, instead of sending it straight to Salonika, in which case they might well have obtained control of the whole of Northern Greece.

The failure of the revolt temporarily deprived the Venizelist party and its allies of all influence in Greek public life. A drastic purge eliminated everyone who could even be suspected of Venizelist sympathies from the armed forces and the Civil Service, and all real power passed into the hands of General Kondylis, the Minister of War.

"The Greeks," writes Mr. Harold Nicolson, "have the faculty of producing great men." Among those prominent in Greek public life, none was more remarkable than George Kondylis. Of peasant origin, he achieved distinction in the savage school of Komitadji warfare as a leader of one of the Greek bands in Macedonia before 1908. Entering the regular army his gallantry during the Balkan Wars was rewarded with a commission. The peaceful surrender by King Constantine and his ministers of Eastern Macedonia to the Turks and Bulgars made of Kondylis a fanatical Venizelist. Disobeying orders, he offered a strenuous resistance to the invading Bulgars at the fort of Demir Hissar. He then escaped to Salonika where he took a prominent part in organising the army of Venizelos's provisional Government. Until the end of the War he continued to advance in military experience and reputation.

After the Greek disaster in Asia Minor in 1922, Kondylis retired from the Army, and entered politics with a party of his own, professing an extreme Radical and Republican programme. It was he again who overthrew the dictator Pangalos by force of arms in 1926.

In 1932 the political situation was highly anomalous. The chief Royalist party had formally accepted the Republic. It had emerged from the elections as the largest single party, but it was doubtful whether the army officers, whose leaders were strongly Republican, would tolerate a government of former Royalists. At this stage the intervention of Kondylis was decisive. He declared himself convinced of the sincerity of the Popular Party's conversion to the Republic. Taking office as Minister of War, his prestige with the army was great enough to secure that the new Government should not be faced with military resistance. By promoting his own military friends to all the important commands he made himself all powerful, and ruthlessly suppressed the rebellion of 1935. Later in that year he proclaimed himself convinced by the rebellion that there could be no solution of the Greek political problem without a restoration of the Monarchy. He proceeded by a *coup d'état* to evict Tsaldaris, the leader of the Popular Party, whose desire for the restoration was more than doubtful, from the office of Prime Minister. He organized a plebiscite which resulted in a large majority for the King's return.

There is no doubt at all that the plebiscite was a farce. Royalists

were allowed to vote as many times over as they pleased. Their opponents were intimidated from approaching the polling booths. The King was recalled, contrary to the will of the great majority of the population, not only of the Venizelists but of a large body of the anti-Venizelists also.

It is here that the personality of King George II comes into play. He announced that he would accept the invitation; and issued a proclamation promising that his first act after his return would be to proclaim a general amnesty. Little credence was given, not to the King's will, but to his ability to fulfil this promise. I was informed by an eye-witness of the King's entry into Athens that it took place amidst no applause whatever, except from a small body of the Athenian *monde* assembled on the balconies of the Hotel Grande Bretagne. Among the large and curious crowd the prevailing mood was reflected in the highly Greek remark "How much will he eat?" (*i.e.* "How much public money will he draw?").

An astonishing transformation of popular sentiment was effected in the course of a few days by the King's own actions. In spite of strenuous and embittered opposition from the man who had restored him to his throne, he insisted on a general amnesty including the names of Venizelos and General Plastiras. An eye-witness of the King's entry observed a riot in Constitution Square later in the week, and enquired of an onlooker what it was all about. He was told, "It is the wicked Royalists who are trying to interfere with the King."

After the long series of misfortunes which have befallen Greece, it is difficult not to see the direct interference of Providence in the large number of politicians and soldiers, whose work was done, and who have met what (despite wild rumours to the contrary) were undoubtedly natural and painless deaths. The King's task is, and for a long time will be, very difficult. It is made much less difficult by the removal of men who, whatever their intentions for the future might be, were hopelessly involved in the bitter passions aroused by the Greek Civil Wars.

So long as he lived, General Kondylis possessed a force of character and an influence over the armed forces which enabled him to be a constant menace to the King's policy of reconciliation —a policy which is essential if normal political life is to be resumed. Kondylis's character would surely have prevented him from avoiding constant and violent incursions into politics. Within a few weeks of the King's return he died suddenly of heart failure. A friend of mine who saw Kondylis's body lying in state told me he had never seen a face so masterful in death.

Venizelos had performed a last service to his country, worthy of his highest greatness, by using his influence to secure the King's

recognition by the parties of the Left. No other man could have achieved this in so short a time. No doubt it was politic for Venizelos to act as he did. It made possible a peaceful return for his friends to their due place in the political life of the country. Nevertheless his action showed a rare capacity for rising above the passions of a feud which had lasted for twenty years. It is difficult to see what further services he could have rendered to his country. The anti-Venizelists hated him so bitterly that his return to political life must have been the signal for a renewal of savage internal strife. It is impossible to believe that Venizelos, with his active mind and imperious will, could, any more than Kondylis, have remained permanently in retirement while he lived. He had performed the last service he was capable of rendering to his country. It was a service worthy of his greatest days. And then he died.

Whether owing to weakness of will, or, as his enemies asserted, to innate untrustworthiness of character, Tsaldaris, the leader of the largest of the anti-Venizelist parties, was a further obstacle to the new and better political life. He too has died.

As the result of these deaths, the public life of Greece is in a state of great fluidity. It is improbable that the Venizelist party will be able to maintain a hold over its adherents. A large number of Venizelists, especially among the refugees in Macedonia and the working-class population of the larger towns, are moving further to the Left. Many of them now vote Communist, a fact which should be attributed to economic distress, and not the acceptance of Communistic principles. Individualism is innate in the Greek character, and there is small likelihood of the Greeks accepting a form of State government unfriendly to that individual initiative and enterprise, which is their chief passion and their leading characteristic.

The anti-Venizelist parties of the Right are subdivided into cliques following individual leaders. There are at least twelve from the Right to the Left, nor is it likely that a more solid grouping will emerge until new figures appear in political life. The present Prime Minister, General Metaxas, achieved distinction in early life as a staff officer of quite exceptional ability. He is an excellent administrator, and his military prestige is sufficient to exclude, for so long as he chooses, improper interference of the army into political affairs. M. Metaxas has, however, failed to attract any considerable following as a political leader. He has no particular political principles beyond a belief in efficient administration, and his changes of programme have been too varied and ingenious to inspire confidence. He lacks those powers of an orator, which count for so much in Greek political life.

The trouble of Greece in the near future is likely to be, not so

much the disturbance caused by the rivalry of very powerful personalities, but a succession of weak governments dependent on a Parliament composed of small and constantly fluctuating groups.[1]

Within six months of the restoration, even the advanced politicians and theoretical republicans of the extreme Left recognized that, under existing circumstances, it would be impossible to find a more impartial head of the State than the present King.

The true situation in Greece has, at no time, been as serious as the country's political misfortunes would indicate, because the Greek works best when he is on his own and can display his personal initiative, and the general air of Greece to-day is one of comparative prosperity. In the first place, the Greeks are not bound to the Gold Standard, which is paralysing the economic life of those countries which adhere to it. Their depreciated currency is of considerable value to the Greeks. Athens must be one of the cheapest towns in Europe, and the fact is being discovered by increasing numbers of visitors. Large numbers of Greeks, who have made fortunes in Egypt and America, are, owing to disturbed economic and political conditions in those countries, returning to live in their own land. The actual amenities of Athens have enormously improved in recent years. The chief factor has been the provision of an adequate water supply, through the construction of the Marathon dam, which has enabled the public squares and parks to be kept in admirable condition, and the nuisance of perpetual dust is practically eliminated.

The chief weakness of the country is undoubtedly the complete absence of what is, according to Western European principles, an efficient Civil Service.

Administrative standards remain quite oriental. Everything is done by personal influence, or in the form of personal favours. It is a tragedy that in spite of his varied and magnificent services to Greece, Venizelos did nothing effective during his long political career to introduce a more civilized standard of administration. The traditions of Byzantium, as debased by centuries of Turkish overlordship, have yet to be removed from the Greek mind. If the authoritative Government of General Metaxas is able to introduce a civilized standard of administration, the Greeks will be fully compensated for a temporary curtailment of political liberties.

In ecclesiastical matters, Greece appears definitely to have emerged from the condition of civil conflict in which a change of government involved a change in the occupants of the principal bishoprics. Even after the unsuccessful Venizelist rebellion of last

1 Since these words were written the quarrels and inefficiency of the party group have forced General Metaxas, or from General Metaxas his opportunity, to dissolve Parliament and govern without one. The drawback to a dictatorship is the Greek passion for τι καλύτερον. It is easier to change a parliamentary government at frequent intervals than a dictator.

year, the Holy Synod refused to convict two Bishops, who were accused of having supported the rebellion, at a time when something like a reign of terror was being exercised against Venizelists in all other public positions. A determined attempt was made to bully the Synod into convicting one of the ablest of the Greek Bishops, the Metropolitan Jacobos of Mitylene.

It is interesting to note that the real motive behind the accusation was not the Metropolitan's well known Venizelist sympathies, but his success in obtaining large donations from wealthy laymen in his diocese for the establishment of very necessary schools, hospitals and orphanages in the island. This was bitterly resented in certain interested quarters, and inspired the intrigue to secure the Metropolitan's removal.

The life and activity of the Church of Greece are such as to encourage those who wish that country well. It has given a lead to the other Orthodox Churches in adapting its organization to the conditions of modern industrial life. It is natural that this should be so, because the Greeks are much more urban by tradition than the other Balkan peoples. Churchgoing, especially at festival seasons, shows no signs at all of a decline in Athens and the large towns. There is a large number of devotional and educational societies, like the "Zoe" movement in Athens, for the maintenance of religion among the bourgeoisie and the artisan population. A quite remarkable number of philanthropic institutions flourish under ecclesiastical patronage.

The intellectual life of the Church of Greece is centred in the Theological Faculty of the University of Athens, which enjoys international renown. The Athenian professors have, for many years, been engaged in the important task of re-stating Orthodox theology in its authentic form, free from the Roman Catholic and Protestant accretions which stifled the genuine development of Orthodox thought during the hard days of the 17th and 18th centuries. This process of recovering the genuine tradition of Orthodoxy might, at first sight, seem a reactionary and deplorable movement to those whose hopes are centred on Christian reunion. We believe that this is the reverse of the truth. The foreign influences of the 17th century did not represent that which was most vital and permanent in the Latin and Protestant traditions. To-day the Liturgical movement of the Roman Catholic Church is, in its essence, a return to the mind and temper of the primitive Church—an attempt to get behind the devotional and theological vagaries of the Middle Ages and the Counter Reformation. Similar movements of thought can be discerned, not only in the Church of England and the Church of Sweden, but among many other reformed churches.

If these realities are borne in mind, the present activity of the

Greek theologians will be understood as a return to the central traditions of Christian theology, the traditions to which we hope and pray that the separated churches of Christendom are, to an ever-increasing extent, finding their way home.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH DURING THE SYNODAL PERIOD OF HER HISTORY.

By Professor A. Kartashov.

IT is extraordinarily difficult at the present moment to express a definite judgment concerning the Russian Church even upon the ground of her history. Russia, the Russian people and their culture, all present a gigantic riddle not only to the outside world, but even to us Russians, though we usually claim a better understanding of our own destiny through a certain intuition about our own nature. We are living through a period of great trial, of an historical malady either "to the death, or to the glory of God." We believe the latter. But to prove it by means of external arguments may not be safe. We are standing upon the threshold and are looking towards an uncertain future. And perhaps I would better express my thought, if I were to change the heading of my paper in the following way: "The Russian Church on the threshold of the future." About that future it would be so desirable to hear a prophet's voice. Instead of being led by his voice we are left with the modest torch of historical knowledge and with our own conjectures on the basis of it.

It is commonly known that since Peter the Great, at the beginning of the XVIIIth century, a new period began in the history of Russia. The period of the Empire, of St. Petersburg, was profoundly different from the previous period of the Tsars of Moscow. The Russian Church has always been a national Church and a State Church. It is quite natural that in the new period of the life of the Russian State and of the Russian people the life of the Russian Church should undergo a profound change corresponding to the new condition of affairs.

The State itself was altered, as well as its ideology, and its spirit. The Russian mediæval period has come to an end, the Russian theocracy has ceased to exist, as well as the Byzantine "symphony," *i.e.* the concord between the Church and the State as equal allies in pursuing the same object—the guidance of the Christian people towards the kingdom of God. The State accepted a new ideology of the so-called "natural right." According to it the State has its own task, independent of the Church. Not a

religious, not a heavenly, but an earthly task, the so-called "common welfare" of the citizens. Using modern language, we shall call it a positive, secular culture. To this unique aim all ought to be subjugated on a given territory and under a given government. The power of the State is absolute. There is no place within the State for the separate, independent power of the Church, though this power is of another, a spiritual order. Religion, the Church and the clergy—all these are no more than special functions of one common work of the citizens in the name of "common welfare." All are servants of a secular task henceforth, not religious. That is the secularization of the ideal of the State, standing in direct contrast to its former theocratic aim. Peter the Great consciously appropriated this ideal of a lay-State and brought it about with the whole force of his enthusiasm and with all his peculiar, implacable despotism.

The theocratic "symphony" of both powers, that of the Church and that of the State, was symbolized by the two highly venerated figures of the Tsar and the Patriarch, standing at the head of the single body of the Christian nation. Such a dualism had to be abolished in the name of the new idea of the exclusive, absolute supremacy of the State. And Peter dared to abolish it. Seduced by the Protestant system of the sovereignty of the State over the Church, Peter attentively studied the applications of this system in England, Holland and Germany. Later on, whilst introducing the system of collegia in the State administration, Peter instituted in 1721 "the spiritual Collegium" for the administrations of the Religions and Churches. This strange inter-confessional Collegium, at the request of the hierarchs, just at the moment of its opening was transformed and received the name of "the Holy Synod."

Thus in the eastern canon law there appeared a new form of the supreme Church government. The Church was decapitated and deprived of her own organ of authority. The members of the Holy Synod were appointed and dismissed by the Sovereign when and for whatever reason it pleased him. That was not an ecclesiastical, but a civil institution, it was simply one of the ministries, which legislated and administrated "on the command of His Majesty." The eastern patriarchs legalized this form of government, not without some pleasure, being probably amazed at such a strange revolutionary spirit among the Russians. In the XVIth century the Russians had taken great pains to obtain the consent of the Greeks for the institution of a patriarchate in Moscow, and the Greeks had resisted it at all costs, believing that the new non-Greek churches were unworthy of patriarchal titles. And now the Russians were beheading their own Church with their own hands.

For two hundred years the Russian Church lived under the regime of a secular, lay State. For two hundred years she was legally deprived of her *sobornost,* of her councils, of her right of elections and of all self-government in general. For two hundred years she endured different forms of pressure on her conscience, sometimes her dignity was humiliated (her martyrology is long and varied). But the Russian Church was patiently waiting for her canonical liberation. The pressure of the secular State was considerably mitigated by the fact that the Russian Emperors regarded themselves as the direct successors of the Byzantine and Moscow Tsars—defenders and protectors of Orthodoxy. The Church willingly sustained that idea and ratified it by the traditional act of the Sacred Coronation. The outward appearance of the ancient theocracy was conserved, but it was not justified by the fundamental laws, nor by the machinery of the Synodal administration. The Church, bereft of her conciliar liberty, was not in "symphony" with the Empire, as equal with equal, but in submission to it. Nevertheless there was a spirit of oriental humility in some hierarchs and in the multitude of the clergy, which transformed even this submission into a virtue and moral beauty as a great Russian sacrificial long-suffering for the sake of the people and the State. The subjugation was ennobled from within by Christian humility.

The captivity of the Church's liberty in the Synodal period coincided in a regretful way with a double split or schism, that happened at that time—ecclesiastical and cultural. Peter the Great brought about the Church reforms without any resistance on the part of the ecclesiastical circles. Among the many reasons for that was the fact that just before him, during the reign of his father Tsar Alexis Michailovitch, from the bosom of the official Church there had departed a great religious force. Those were the schismatics or the old-believers. Under the form of a fanatical attachment to the old Moscow ritual and to the letter of the Moscow liturgical books, they had stubbornly resisted the new spirit of the secularized State. This secular spirit of the State was put into operation with obstinacy and conviction by the Moscow gentry (*boyars*). In the middle of the XVIIth century the *boyars* resolved to break down the landlords' privileges of the hierarchs and monasteries. Patriarch Nikon was defeated in this struggle and with him were defeated the Russian bishops who were all his partisans. The theocracy had been shattered just before the reign of Peter the Great. He had only to exploit the ready victory. But the old-believers left the Church with this theocratic ideal in their hearts. At first on their side were the majority of the people. But later on the severe persecutions and restrictions inflicted upon them by the State reduced this Church-opposition to an insignificant minority. However, this minority was really fervent

and of genuine religious value. The loss of it enfeebled the spiritual forces of the Church.

The old-believers' movement awakened and stimulated a parallel sectarian movement, which since then has been ever growing. The sectarian traditions of a Bogomilian origin, scarcely smouldering in the monasteries of Ancient Russia, since the middle of the XVIIth century suddenly spread through the lower strata of the people in two forms: as rationalistic and as mystical sects. Towards the beginning of the XXth century out of the general round number of a 100 millions of the orthodox population in Russia, there were no less than 15 million sectarians and old-believers together. These 15 millions are a net loss to the Church. This loss is explained by the decrease of the Church's authority and by her bureaucratic stiffness in the clutches of the State.

The second schism which weakened the power of the Church was created by Peter the Great in the world-outlook of the Russians. The Emperor dictatorially grafted on to the governing class the western mentality, different from the mind of the people, in the spirit of rationalism or indifference and later a straightforward "Voltairian" contempt for the people's Church. In the XXth century from this was born the Russian intelligentsia, hostile to the Church. The common people remained with the old mediæval Moscow mentality. That was fatal for the destiny of the Russian Empire. And it was a misfortune for the Church. She has lost the internal support of the cultural strata of the nation. And she did not find it in the lower ranks of the people. Her clergy, coming from a scholastic training in Latin at school also was by that alienated internally from the common folk. The people grew accustomed to living in a spiritual solitude with their soul, shut out from the educated classes of society, estranged even from the clergy, who seemed to be nearest to them. A certain part of the people joined some sects, others hardened in superstitions, many fell away from religion.

These are some of the general unfavourable conditions for the life and development of the Russian Church since Peter the Great. To these more could be added. But the question arises: was the Church crushed by all that, or not? Did the period of the Holy Synod become a period of decay? Many among us would answer in the affirmative: "Yes, it was a period of decay." In the West the Roman Catholics preach this constantly. I for my own part dare affirm just the contrary. The Russian Church was suffering under the burden of the regime, but she overcame it from within. She grew, she spread and flourished in many different ways. Thus the period of the Holy Synod could be called the most brilliant and glorious period in the history of the Russian Church. If you say that that is a paradox, I will reply: yes, it is. A paradox not of an abstraction but of the living reality. The history of Russia

is full of such paradoxes. Our famous historian Kluchevsky, speaking about the creation of the Tsardom of Moscow, said: "The State swelled up and the people starved." But nevertheless this starving people had not degenerated, but it grew and bore upon its shoulders the burden of the building up of the State. Equally difficult to bear had been the impetus of Peter the Great for the building of the Empire. And the people again had supported it and spread the Russian might over one sixth of the land surface of the globe.

Is it not true that under the iron control of the autocracy of the Emperors the Russian people became illustrious all over the world? Not only as a State, but also as a nation, producing world-famous creators of culture? It is commonly known as a paradox that the golden age of Russian literature was under the regime of serfdom and the hardest absolutism of Nicholas the First. The most typical of our writers, Pushkin, was not free from the personal censorship of the Emperor. Generally all the universal glory of Russian culture is coincident with the period of the Empire. The Russian culture is a culture of the Empire. Why is it so? Thanks to the regime, or in spite of it? The answer to this question is not simple at all. I only put forward the paradox of the flourishing of the Russian Church under the regime of the Synod in line with the other paradoxes of the flourishing of the whole Russian nation. The explanation is to be found in the biological and spiritual powers of this nation, which can grow and bear fruit even under most unfavourable conditions.

What criterion can we apply to measure the progress of the Russian Church during the two last centuries?

First of all a quantitative one. The Russian Empire expanded over an enormous territory, and its population was rapidly increasing. And the number of the orthodox was growing too. As a general remark I can say that on a certain level quantitative events acquire qualitative force.

As a matter of fact, these undermentioned quantities were filled with a new, higher quality, that you will see from the following.

Numerically the Russian Church in the period of the patriarchs had scarcely reached the number of 15 millions, whereas at the time of the revolution the Russian Church had already 100 million orthodox. In the first place we can attribute that to the statistical fact, that at the time of Peter the Great Russia had a population of 21 millions, whereas in the reign of Nicholas II it reached 175 millions. But our Church of this period was growing not only automatically. She was carrying on her missionary work with such activity as never before. The historical objects of her mission were the numerous Finnish, Turkish and Mongolian tribes, who inhabit the European and Siberian plains. From the very beginning of our Church history our missionaries had been

studying the local languages of different native tribes, they preached them the Gospel in their own dialects, they translated and celebrated in their own idioms the divine offices. By these means these strangers were assimilated. They became orthodox and Russian together. This slow process was intensified not only by the instructions of the Russian ecclesiastical and civil authorities, but also by the idealism of the individual missionaries. The number of the natives acquired to orthodoxy was calculated at that time not by thousands, as before, but already by millions. Almost all heathen primitive tribes were already converted to Christianity. Unbaptized there remained only small groups of natives, scattered all over the marshy plains of the North of Siberia. Whereas the Buddhists, the Mahomedans, the Jews, as members of organized world-religions, had in Russia the privilege of being but slightly affected by Christian proselytism. After the conquest of the Caucasus in the XIXth century a special Missionary Society made great efforts for the restoration of Christianity on both sides of the mountains amidst the tribes of Georgia and Ossetia, who had been baptized in the Byzantine epoch and had since lost their religious culture under the yoke of Islam. In the middle of the XIXth century there broke out a movement among the Esthonians and the Letts towards forsaking German Lutheranism and joining the Russian Orthodox Church. That happened quite spontaneously, even in spite of the conservatism of the police and the civil authorities. From henceforth hundreds of thousands of people belonging to these nationalities organized orthodox parishes with Divine Offices and sermons in their own languages. At the present time these parishes form the autonomous orthodox Churches of Latvia and Esthonia. A small church in Finland was formed out of Carelians who had been baptized to orthodoxy by the missionaries of ancient Novgorod and the monks of the monastery of Valamo and were successfully strengthened in their attachment to the Orthodox Church in the same second half of the XIXth century. The actual autokephalous Orthodox Church in Poland is also a great heritage received from the Russian Church. According to the treaty of Riga, which ended the war of 1920 with the Bolsheviks, Poland received the vast territories such as Podolia, Volynia, Pollessie, Vilna, where Russians are indigenous and where the Orthodox Church was the old Church. Since the XIVth century these lands, which had been conquered by the Lithuanian princes and had been later united to the Polish crown, were subjected to the process of latinization. The greater part of the orthodox population was cajoled in the XVIth-XVIIth centuries into a union with Rome. When at the end of the XVIIIth century, after the divisions of Poland, these regions were given back to the Russian government, there began a strong movement of people

towards the recovery of their ancestral orthodoxy. About four millions of former uniates became orthodox again.

On Sundays and feasts over the vast spaces of Russia, in the mountains, steppes, forests and marshes for the multitude of nationalities the divine liturgy was celebrated by the humble missionary priests in many hundreds of different languages and dialects. That was the best method of missionary work. And in the XIXth century it was formulated by Prof. Ilminsky of the Ecclesiastical Academy at Kazan and was accepted, as a principle for the Russian missions, by the Holy Synod.

In this period the Russian mission for the first time went beyond the frontiers of the State. In Pekin our Chinese mission was well organized for a number of Russian Cossacks, formerly war prisoners, from the end of the XVIIth century maintaining their orthodoxy until to-day.

By the daring apostolic enthusiasm of the priest-monk Nicholas Kassatkin, afterwards Bishop of Japan, was created the Orthodox Church in Japan (30,000 believers). It is administered at the present time by the Russian Archbishop Sergius, the successor of Bishop Nicholas.

As a great missionary offspring of the Russian Church appears her new branch in both the Americas. It was created chiefly by the apostolic action of the Siberian priest Innocent Veniaminoff, later the Metropolitan of Moscow. During the 100 years from the beginning of the XIXth century this missionary daughter of the Russian Church from the group of parishes for some thousands of Aleutians, Kolosnians and Eskimos in Alaska has developed into a pan-American diocese (latterly many dioceses), which for a long time was the only centre for the orthodox of all nationalities. At the present time there belong to them still more than a hundred thousand Galician and Carpathian Russians, who have passed over from uniatism.

A peculiar kind of missionary work, traditional with us, consisted in supporting our fellow-believers, the Orthodox Churches of the East, which had decreased under the Mahomedan oppression. Besides material help, given to Patriarchates and their schools, a special "Palestine Society" developed an exceptionally active educational work. Before the Great War in the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch the Palestine Society maintained 100 schools for 150,000 orthodox Arab children.

At the end of the XIXth century (1898) a part of the Aissors —Nestorians from Persian Curdistan—decided to unite with the Russian Church. After that in Urmia was established a Russian Orthodox Mission.

By such missionary activity and attainment the Russian Church has released the Eastern Church from the reproach of being as fruitless as Sarah was.

The enlarged and developed Russian Church could not be settled in those 20 dioceses to which she has been confined at the time of the Russian patriarchs. The number of the dioceses grew to 70. The number of the Bishops, if we take into account also the assistant bishops (so called "vicars"), surpassed 100. There were about 50,000 churches, with more than 100,000 clergymen. There were 1,000 monasteries, with 50,000 monks. For children of the clergy and for theological education there existed 55 great seminaries, 100 small seminaries and 100 seminaries for girls with 75,000 scholars. For higher studies in theology there were four Ecclesiastical Academies at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Kazan.

In mentioning the science of Theology, we are speaking about the most important agent, thanks to which the Russian Church showed so clearly her slumbering forces and still more clearly her potential capacities. The ancient Russian Church, for the lack of the scholarly and scientific education, presents a sorry and tragic spectacle. By the strength of piety and asceticism, she is a hero, an athlete. By the feebleness of theological thought and by ignorance she is a child at best and blind at worst. For the Christian Church theological ignorance and cultural immaturity are horrible things. Anyone who has seen with his own eyes the church life of the Copts, Ethiopians, Nestorians, Jacobites, will understand what I mean. Enlightenment, Science, Culture, all these are required by the Divine Revelation. The Old and New Testaments could appear neither in Central Africa, nor in Australia, nor generally anywhere among illiterate savages. The prophets, apostles and teachers of the Church enunciated the Divine Revelation in the forms of thought and language of the highest culture of the world at that time. In cultural conditions the Christian wisdom radiates also more brightly and beautifully, as a precious stone sparkles more wonderfully after being cut. Peter the Great compelled the Russian Church almost by force, as he did with all Russia, to go through scientific training. According to an expression of Pushkin, he "jerked up Russia on her haunches." And that became very useful for the Russian Church. For the first time in the history of the Russian Church was born, imitative first of all and afterwards independent, theological science, and at last independent theological thought. The Russian Church from a too prolonged period of immaturity passed through a flourishing youth and is promising to enter the plenitude of strength of "the perfect man." One Russian thinker said about Peter's dictatorial method of the instruction of the Russian people: "Peter had thrown a gauntlet to Russia and she replied to him after 50 years by Lomonossov (a genius of science), and after 100 years by Pushkin (a genius of literature)." To that

we may add: "And in the Church—by Philaret of Moscow," and after him by many bishops still more erudite, who were members of the Academy of Science (M. Eugenius of Kiev, Macaire of Moscow, Philaret of Chernigov, Porphyrius Ouspensky, Sergius of Wladimir), by many learned arch-priests and theologians. The names of them are known in the world of science. We had brilliant preachers and religious writers. We had many theological periodicals and big libraries of our own Russian theological works. The learned Russian theologians gave to their people at that time the Bible in the living Russian tongue. It laid the foundaton of the edition of the critical text of the Slavonic Bible.

The Russian Church, scholarly equipped and having accumulated great treasures of theological literature, with her four Ecclesiastical Academies, naturally became a spiritual Athens to our orthodox fellow-believers. Many hierarchs—Greeks, Slavs, Rumanians, Arabs—have been pupils of Russian theological schools and propagators of Russian theology in their native countries.

Quite naturally also the Russian Church, theologically well armed, came forward on the inter-ecclesiastical arena in relation with other confessions and became an important participant in all œcumenical questions.

In the Russian Church appeared an original trait which advantageously distinguishes her from other Eastern Churches. We mean the active participation in creative theological activity of laymen, independent thinkers and writers. One line of these writers is headed by Khomiakov and another takes its origin from Vladimir Soloviev.

Russian literature itself, in the person of her most eminent creators (Gogol, Tutchev, Dostoyevsky, L. Tolstoi and many others), clearly reflects the profound influence of the Orthodox Church.

Russian painting and music also are very much coloured by the outlook of Russian orthodoxy.

All these are signs of the interior strength of the Russian Church, which surmounted all the various obstacles of its defective regime. In Russian Christianity liturgical worship has always a great importance. The adoption of the fruits of Western knowledge and culture by the Russian Church profited her by adding a new magnificence and new ornaments to the Church ritual. The magnitude and splendour of newly built cathedrals, artistic restorations of the old ones, especially the resurrection of the finest, mystically mighty, ancient ikonography, the beautiful church singing, which surprises the world—all these are the symptoms of the flourishing of the Russian Church and especially thanks to the effects of the general enlightenment.

By that is justified the opinion of our most eminent historian of the Russian Church, the late Prof. Goloubinsky concerning the general character of different periods of the history of the Russian Church. It seems to be a little strange and inconceivable. He united the first two periods, of Kiev and Moscow, into one, which "is characterized by the absence of genuine enlightenment" (V.I., p. xxi). "The present period of St. Petersburg"—thus Goloubinsky writes—"is a period of introduction to us of genuine enlightenment and, of course, at the same time of a more perfect understanding of Christendom" *ib.* p. xx). Except these three lines in the introduction to his work Goloubinsky had not more opportunities to develop his point of view. And we must remark that, strictly speaking, nobody in Russian science and journalism follows this idea of Goloubinsky. We do not find any voice praising the last few centuries of Russian orthodoxy. We do not mention foreign opinions. A colossal work in six volumes by William Palmer: *The Tsar and the Patriarch,* is very typical. Charmed by the theocratic figure of the Patriarch Nikon, by his tragic destiny, and seduced by his own disappointment in the ecclesiastical circles of St. Petersburg, the romanizing author sees in the post-Petrine Russia only eschatological horror. That is a pure aberration. But it seems to me as an aberration also our Russian pre-revolutionary pessimism in expounding of all that, rightly or wrongly, is connected with our "ancient regime." The actual post-revolutionary period has delivered us from old (as if "canonized") partialities. There is time now to be historically sober and veracious. Though indirectly supported by an authoritative remark of Goloubinsky, I repeat, I dare declare that our excessively blamed "Synodal period" is not a shame and infamy, but on the contrary—a glory and pride of the Russian Church. Yes, it is a chronicle of the sufferings and humiliations of the Church, but at the same time it is a chronicle of her memorable exploits and attainments, a chronicle which is adorned by outstanding, talented and even saintly men and women.

Sanctity is an indisputable measure of the forces of the Church. The growth of sanctity and piety is the best apology of the last two centuries of the life of our Church. Neither the secular spirit of the government of Peter and his successors in the XVIIIth century, nor the estrangement of the cultural classes and of the intelligentsia from the Church, nor the bureaucratic surface of the Church life under the control of the ober-Procurators of the Holy Synod and their delegates—the secretaries of the diocesan Consistories—nothing of that prevented the tenacious growth of the traditional type of ascetic sanctity. The Holy Synod since Peter the Great had special instructions to be cautious with regard to the canonization of saints. Notwithstanding, the Synod,

continuing to canonize the Russian saints of the XVth-XVIIth centuries, ought to canonize also some nearer and contemporary saints, because the glory of them was incontestable and imperative. There were the saints: Dmitry, Bishop of Rostov; Innocent, Bishop of Irkutsk; Metrophanes, Bishop of Voronej; Bishop Tikhon, of Zadonsk, and Saint Seraphim of Sarov. These are only a few among the hundreds of ascetics who lived in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries and were honoured by the orthodox people as saints. One author set about collecting the material for their biographies. He collected a gallery of 100 saints. We can say with confidence that this gallery is half the number of which we know from history. During the last two centuries new types of saints (a type of the learned monk, or the teacher of the clergy school, of the Professor of the Ecclesiastical Academies, the type of missionary and parish priests) gave a long list of saints. The list of the Russian saints through all ages till now contains about 500 names. Among them about 230 are canonized. To this number the period of the Holy Synod may add 100 or 200 new saints, when the time for the canonization comes.

Historically it is remarkable that under the regime instituted by Peter the Great there took place a new renaissance of monasticism and monastic sanctity. Peter, in a Protestant manner, did not like monasticism, and established a system of quasi-persecution against it. He shut half of the monasteries and reduced by half their population. Under the "German" government of the Empress Anna their population was reduced again by half. In the reign of Catherine the Great all land belonging to the monasteries was confiscated on behalf of the State treasury. The monasteries became poor, and again the number of monks was reduced. Many monks removed to south Russia where the confiscation of land was postponed for 14 years. From a new unavoidable confiscation the south Russian monks emigrated to the monasteries of Athos and to neighbouring Moldavia. And there in exile the Russian monks once more came into contact with the ancient Greek tradition of mystical asceticism. They revived spiritually and transmitted this stream of spiritual revival to the mother-country, Russia, at the end of the XVIIIth century. The leader of this revival was a native of Poltava and later a leader of the Russian and Moldavian monks, Abbot Paissiy Velichkovsky He translated a whole library of ascetic books from Greek into Slavonic. His disciples were dispersed all over Russia. From them takes its origin the well-known System of the "elders" (or *startsi*), which has given a peculiar glory to the monastery of Optina and the birth of a new type of contemplative asceticism. Within this stream St. Seraphim of Sarov was educated and reflected it in himself. In the same atmosphere were educated

the not yet canonized saints, the *startzy*—Ambrosius, Macaire, Nazarius and many others. The same can be said about the learned monk—Bishops Antony, Ambrosius, Innocent, Theothanes the Recluse, and Father John of Cronstadt. There is a Russian saying: "The fire contributed to the adornment of Moscow." Peter's persecutions of monasticism contributed to the internal strengthening of it. Using the already mentioned comparison we can say: "Peter had thrown a gauntlet to Russian monasticism, and it replied to him in 50 years by St. Tikhon of Zadonsk and in 100 years by St. Seraphim of Sarov."

Such is the positive result of the accumulation of the forces of the Russian Church in the last two centuries. What happened with these forces? The Revolution has laid the Russian church into ruins. Could she be restored, and how? Usually it is said: war is a test for a nation. We shall add to it: but the revolution, the communist revolution is a still more severe test. In what manner in this test were shown the strong and feeble sides of the Russian Church?

First of all was displayed the weakness of the social and political significance of the Church, depending on the long guardianship of the State. All elements of the nation had to make their proper stand to the destructive attack of the revolution. The part of the Church in it is comparatively insignificant. Thus the "ancient regime," which deprived the Church of the possibility of independently, authoritatively educating the people not only in religion but also in social life, was the first to suffer loss.

Another weakness has brought damage before all to the Church herself. The Church, bereft of the liberty of self-government, could not within herself foster the ability of self-organization. She appeared outwardly one, thanks only to the exterior authority of the State. Under this single cover she hid many not yet resolved questions of different parties. These quarrels have divided the Church at home and here in emigration. And it is remarkable: these discussions and divisions have arisen not from a religious problem but from merely a political question: How must we regard the new godless government and in what sense recognize it? Thus the Church was not prepared to be an independent, purely ecclesiastical unity.

Here we must make an explanation. These two mentioned weaknesses do not present a particular exception in comparison with other national forces, classes, professions, which showed resistance to communism. All became quickly defeated. What seemed to be more organized, disciplinized, than the army of the officials of the state and the military forces? Alas, almost all these were transformed into the servants of Bolshevism. The liberal social classes, so proud of their organization, the political parties,

intelligentsia, county councils, industry, working-class, all these were dispersed and abolished without a trace, all became slaves of the international power. The peasantry has resisted longer than others and till to-day is resisting. But it is already pulled down as a whole. The minority of the nation resisted by an armed military struggle and afterwards emigrated abroad. The all-smashing tank of communism crushed all that lay in its way. And it will pitilessly crush also everything here, if it is heedlessly allowed to enter the western countries. The atrocity of the power of the godless is not bestial (the beasts in comparison with them are innocent children), but spiritually demoniac, of the ghost of the abyss. It is no wonder if the delicate and soft body of the Church was also crushed by Bolshevism side by side with all others. There is no peculiar shame to the Church. We recall to mind Christ's word about the 18 men, who were slain by the tower of Siloam: "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." (Luke 13, 1-5.)

What can be said about the spiritual forces of our Church in her actual oppressed position? They are manifested, even for us unexpectedly, by the great exploits of the martyrs. These facts are commonly well known. By hundreds of thousands are calculated the number of the new martyrs and sufferers for the Christian faith. Some have already gone to the Kingdom of Heaven and some still are thrown into prisons, exiled to the labour-camps, or hidden in catacombs, physical or spiritual. According to the perpetual law of the Church, "the blood of them shall be a seed of new Christians." This martyrdom leads us "not to the death, but the glory of God." The external decreasing of the number of the members of the Church is a secondary fact, in this case as a consequence of the rough violence. The fundamental facts are the blood of the martyrs and the heroic intensification of the kernel of the Church, the faith of the minority "endured unto the end," the faith of a "sacred remnant" of the prophet Isaiah. From that "an offspring" will come forth; from that a spring of worship will flow when the mouths and hearts of the people will be unchained.

But where is the confirmation and the pledge of our belief in the new flourishing of our Church? In the same law of the connection between the biological and cultural reinforcement of the Russian people and the flourishing of the Church, which we have observed in her history. Now we do not only believe, but we see that the Russian people disposed of a sufficient reserve of biological forces to endure to the end and to victoriously surmount the terrible malady of Bolshevism. There is one of the symptoms which can be understood also by foreigners. In spite of the whole starvation and dying out in masses from the famine, the yearly increasing of the population in Russia is now three millions. The forces of

the Russian people are so big, that they live and multiply even in spite of the communist regime. We have seen, that in spite of the regime since Peter the Great our Church developed in every way. Just in the same way in spite of the actual persecution she will flourish, because the liberated and regenerated Russian people also will flourish.

Only one thing is dreadful to us. This mortal struggle with the anti-Christian and foreign power of the Third International, and the whole barbarous process of the Revolution has dreadfully lowered the level of Russian culture and of the morality of the people. The Church loses that precious force of enlightenment which had lifted her to an unprecedented height in the Synodal period. Our efforts here in the emigration are directed towards the preservation of a maximum of theological culture as is in our power for the "barbarized" Russia. It will be horrible to us to become a kind of Christian Copts or Ethiopians. We desire to remain Russian Christians of the beginning of the XXth century. We pray to the Heavenly Head of the Universal Church that He will preserve us upon this level and in our innermost heart we hope that He will grant to His martyr Church even the greatest glory.

OUR BOOKSHELF

FROM DYAD TO TRIAD

A plea for Duality against Dualism and an Essay towards the Synthesis of Orthodoxy

BY THE REVD. HIEROMONK ALEXIS VAN DER MENSBRUGGHE

(London. The Faith Press. 1935. 7s. 6d.)

FATHER ALEXIS has certainly succeeded in producing a remarkably stimulating work and brings to the task exceptionally high qualifications. A work of this nature is of more than general interest, since it is written by one who, though a Roman Catholic by upbringing, became a member of the Orthodox Church. He was led to his present position by study in the fields of Theology and Christian Unity.

Father Alexis therefore occupies the unique position of being at the same time a trained scholastic theologian and an exponent of the mind of the Communion to which he now belongs. How far he has really succeeded in identifying himself with the spirit of Orthodoxy opinions may differ, but it cannot be denied that he has

penetrated very deeply into the spirit and life of the Orthodox Church. Canon J. A. Douglas contributes an interesting Introduction which gives some account of the author and his work . . . especially in connection with Amay.

A glance at the Synopsis of Fr. Alexis's work will indicate to the reader that he must be prepared to do some hard thinking. The subject of the book is dealt with in an Introduction (the analogical Nature of Dyads and Triads) and five subsequent chapters. The Dyad in Morphology and Mythology, the Dyad in Logic, the Dyad in Ontology and in " Economic " Theology, from Dyad to Triad (historical approaches to the problem) and finally the Dyad in Axiology and in " Simple " Theology.

The atmosphere of the work is essentially metaphysical. The author, by means of an exceptionally clear style and method of exposition, escapes from being either dull or irritating. One of his chief merits is that he carries his reader along with him in an extremely attractive way. The effect of this is to produce sustained interest and close attention. One is reminded of a similar effect produced by the late Dr. Hastings Rashdall in his essay, *The Ultimate Basis of Theism*. In that essay, Dr. Rashdall touches upon some aspects of Fr. Alexis's problem.

An extremely strong point with regard to Fr. Alexis's outlook is that both Philosophy and Theology are fellow-travellers. The metaphysical and religious factors are not sundered from the " objective, speculative reason and grounded in subjectively felt need." It is well known how a certain development from Kant led up to that which Mr. Basil Wrighton has termed " a plurality of personal needs." Upon this pragmatism placed the coping stone and the possibility of a metaphysic was foreclosed. This had most unfortunate results in the realm of political philosophy and evinced itself in the Modernist disputes about the nature of the Christian Community. To quote Mr. Wrighton, " while certain schools were busy depreciating reason and reducing the handmaid of Theology to something like the status of a scullery-maid, Hermes and Gunther were deifying reason and crowning the handmaid in place of her mistress. On this side the Church was threatened with something like a revival of Gnosticism in her midst." Hence the return to S. Thomas and revulsion from all that savours of the atomism of Cartesian individualism.

Fr. Alexis's Synthesis of Orthodoxy amounts to the striking of a balance, how far he escapes from casting his thesis in too Idealist a form, or appears to, may be disputed. Contrast between Monotheism and Polytheism is stressed and Christianity is affirmed to be far removed from either. The Orthodox position is then posed as a " Tertium quid " between " Far-Eastern Monism and Western Pluralism." The " Tertium quid " of Orthodoxy therefore appears as the solution to all Philosophical and Theological problems. This

applies especially to the One and the Many. In the One a two-fold differentiation of quality and a three-fold differentiation of mode are discovered. Differentiation in respect to God is affirmed as Essence, the manifestation of God is through Sophia, her function is compared with that of the Prisim. Differentiation of mode concerns the Trinity, Binitarianism and Trinitarianism are then discussed in this light. The dual and qualitative differentiation prepares the ground for the three-fold differentiation of mode. With regard to the Cappadocians we would still suggest that although they interpreted the Logos-Christology of Alexandria, it was at a price . . . "A personal God. Three personalities and an abstract, impersonal essence"!

Sophia is presented as the Logos Endiathetos from which the Logos Prophorikos is eternally generated . . . the Cosmic Christ . . . the Second Person becomes personal through Sophia but here the Dyad as a dominating principle overshadows Sophia. The problem of the Trinity in relation to Sophia is dealt with very skilfully, but the argument sails pretty near the wind. With regard to the problem of Evil the writer appears to lean in a negative direction, this is not surprising since he can speak of Creation as an "internal inferiorization of God" in relation to God. If Evil is not on this affirmation in some way connected with God the "only way" is *via* the negative. Both Westcott and Von Hügel were careful to maintain that Evil is an essentially intrusive thing: they both attacked a certain type of Mysticism as tending to deny the positive character of Evil . . . "that dread reality." We should have liked to hear something more with regard to S. Augustine in this connection from Fr. Alexis. For that which Fr. Alexis regards as having been submerged in the West survived through Augustine's influence and came to full fruition in the Spanish Mystics, thence exerting influence upon the French School and the English Platonists. Both Hegel and Schleiermacher manifested a negative attitude toward Evil; their influence has been great . . . Schleiermacher lacked Soteriology. But Evil is an invader and no system, as Von Hügel said, is satisfactory, unless that is admitted. If there be some suggestion of sin in connection with Sophia by reason of all things taking place within God, we have the idea of a fallen world-Soul! The writer's insistence on Panentheism in relation to the subordinate part played by Sophia leads to the suspicion that in general interpretation he has not escaped the Mortmain of Idealism. The history of Orthodoxy in relation to Byzantium has demonstrated failure to avoid the inherent evil of Despotism. . . . The Absolute here, though in theory appearing to safeguard personality, has tended to swallow it up. Is not this the key to the position of one particular School of Russian thinkers? This school as strong champions of personality continue to wrestle with Hegel and Neo-Platonism. The inherent Despotism of Monism survived in the West in the Mystic tradition and wound

up with Rousseau and Robespierre as Morely showed. These are but a few points which are inevitably suggested by this work for further consideration.

It would be impossible to give any adequate account of Fr. Alexis's book in a brief review, sufficient to say that it is not only an able work but one to read and read again. Fr. Alexis has illustrated his argument by a number of excellent diagrams which will appeal to those who have a taste for the mathematical. There are also six plates depicting ikons which are intended to " stress the continuity of the Sophian tradition in ikonography." A bibliography and index complete this most useful work. The Faith Press are to be congratulated on the quality of the publication and the excellence of the plates.

IVAN R. YOURZG.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE—*contd.*

In particular, the Serb Church received the Metropolitan Antony and his brother bishops with the most generous hospitality, giving them the right to exercise jurisdiction in Jugo-Slavia as bishops of the Russians in exile and for that purpose according them the status of bishops of the Serb Patriarchate. It was thus that the Metropolitan Antony was assigned apartments in the Patriarch's House. The present Serb Patriarch Varnava had a peculiar and filial delight in knowing the Metropolitan Antony : for when a theological student he had been his pupil and had received hospitality from him at Kharkov after the Austrian occupation of Serbia. The relations between the older and the younger hierarch were those of a fond father and a devoted son.